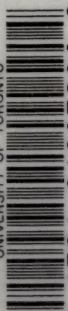


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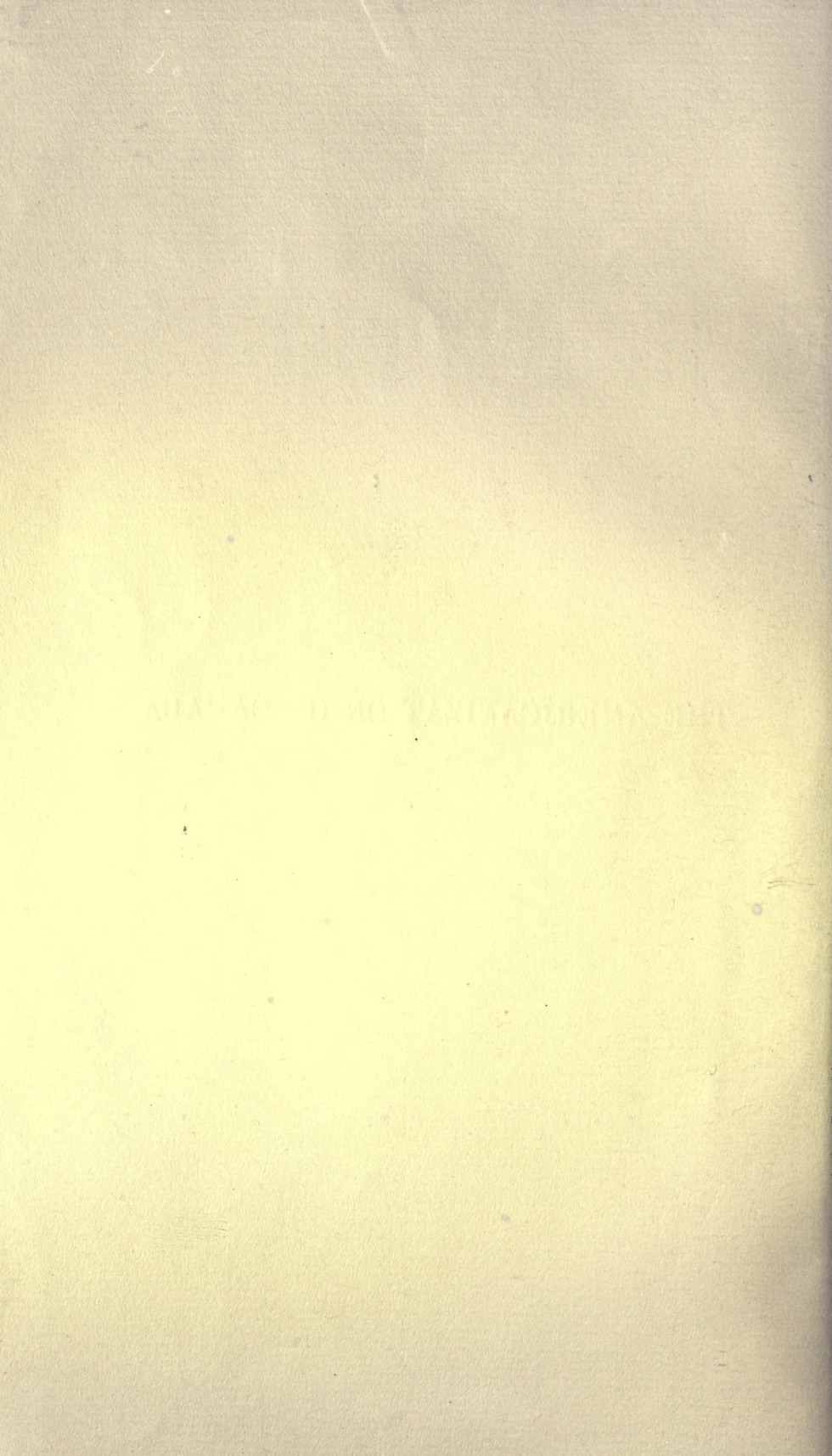
BY
SAMUEL E. MOFFETT

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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CHARLES F. MORTIMER

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PREFACE

THE object of this study is to examine the development of the relations between the people of Canada and those of the United States, and to see whether their tendency has been towards unity or divergence. In such an investigation authorities have a very different value from that they would possess in tracing a definite line of historical research. Many documents that would be indispensable primary sources in other fields are here of little service. The study must be largely a matter of sidelights—of unconscious revelation. Mere gossip becomes often more illuminating than a formal official statement, and a careless newspaper paragraph, an advertisement, or the notebook of a flying tourist may illustrate some point on which blue books are silent. Hence the seemingly desultory character of the citations in these pages.

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CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE OF THE CONTINENT

THE bulk of the North American continent is divided into two almost equal parts.

One of these parts is inhabited by about eighty-five million people, substantially all speaking English, or in the way to do so. The other has about six million people, of whom two thirds speak English and one third French, the French element tending constantly to gain on the other through natural increase, and the English to maintain its lead through immigration.

These two halves of the continent are separated by a boundary line four thousand miles long, (not including that of Alaska), corresponding to no natural division either of topography or of nationality. In some parts this line is a parallel of latitude; in others it follows small and hardly identifiable rivers; in others it takes its unmarked way through the middle of inland seas. The question to be considered here is whether this boundary is an actual fence, separating one people from another, or whether there is a tendency on both sides to ignore it, and to merge the six millions and the eighty-five millions together.

When the American colonies declared their independence, there was no such division. Canada, then, meant what is now the Province of Quebec, and it was almost purely French. There were a few English settlers in the Maritime Provinces, which were not then considered parts of Canada, but the whole region west of the St. Lawrence Rapids was

substantially uninhabited. From this point to the Pacific Ocean the continent was absolutely one. A hunter might have started at the mouth of the Ohio and worked his way to the Arctic Ocean without ever noticing anything but the weather to remind him that he had passed from one country to another. The difference between Canada and the United States then, was the difference between French and English. When the revolting colonists invited the Canadians to join them the Canadians refused, as Frenchmen, unwilling to associate themselves with their hereditary English enemies. They preferred to remain under the English King three thousand miles away rather than to join their English neighbors with whom they had been colliding in reciprocal scalping expeditions for a hundred years.

Had matters remained in this condition, the British connection with Canada could hardly have outlasted the War of 1812. But the end of the Revolution brought the first of a long series of American mistakes through which that connection has been maintained to the present time. The oppression of the Tories in the States created two new provinces, inhabited by an energetic English population, and gave the infant commonwealths an anti-American bias that has not been entirely overcome to this day. It was this new hostile United Empire Loyalist population created by American blunders that gave the British generals the backing without which they could have had no success in the War of 1812. The number of these exiles that entered the provinces that now formed part of the Canadian dominion is estimated at forty thousand.¹ The settlement of New Brunswick was almost entirely United Empire Loyalist. The Loyalist refugees reinforced the small English population of Nova Scotia and definitely settled the long-fought issue whether

¹ Introduction to Canada Census of 1871, vol. iv, pp. xxxviii-xlii.

the Acadian peninsula should be English or French. They took possession of the vacant spaces of Quebec.¹ But for their coming the British possessions in North America would have consisted of a wilderness with a little oasis of a hundred thousand French Canadians on the St. Lawrence, and a smaller group of about fifteen thousand people of mixed nationalities, half of them Americans, in Acadia. The settlement of the great Canadian West, including Ontario, when it came, would inevitably have been accomplished by the same stream of migration that filled the empty spaces of the Mississippi Valley, and there would have been no difference in population or sentiment between Ontario and Michigan. Canada would then have remained as it always had been before, another name for Quebec, and the idea of a continental Canadian Dominion would never have entered any human mind.

For generations the American stream of migration was diverted from Canada, but a Canadian stream was turned toward the United States. In 1850, 147,711 persons of Canadian birth were living south of the border—about one-sixteenth of the number of people living in the British possessions at the same time. In 1860 the Canadian-born population of the United States had increased to 249,970, a gain of 76 per cent., while the general population of the Union was increasing at the rate of 35.6 per cent., and that of the British provinces at about 33.6. In 1870 there were 493,464 Canadians in the United States, an increase of 97.4 per cent. for the decade against 22.6 per cent. for the population of

¹ "In 1784 the whole littoral of the River St. Lawrence, from Lake St. Francis to Lake Ontario, the shores of Lake Ontario as far as and including the Bay of Quinté, the neighborhood of the town of Niagara, then called Newark, and part of the shores of the Detroit river, were colonized by about 10,000 United Empire Loyalists, who, assisted by Government aid, took possession of land which had been laid out for their reception." *Introduction to Canada Census, 1871*, vol. iv, p. xlii.

the Republic as a whole, and 16.2 per cent. for that of the British colonies, now united in the Dominion of Canada.

The figures for the next three decades were :

	Canadian-born Population United States.	Increase per cent.	General Increase in United States.	General Increase in Canada.
1880.....	717,157	45.3	30.1	17.2
1890.....	980,938	36.7	24.9	11.7
1900.....	1,181,255	20.4	20.9	11.1

In each case the population of Canada has had to be taken nine months later than that of the United States on account of the difference in the time of taking the census.

While the population of the Republic was a little more than tripling in fifty years, and that of Canada was being multiplied by less than two and a half, the little Canada south of the boundary line saw the number of its inhabitants multiplied by eight. Of all the living persons of Canadian birth in 1900, more than one-fifth were settled in the United States.

But if the statement stopped there it would be incomplete. In addition to the native Canadians in the United States in 1900, there were 527,301 persons of American birth but with both parents Canadian. There were also 425,617 with Canadian fathers and American mothers, and 344,470 with Canadian mothers and American fathers. Thus there were in all 2,480,613 persons in the United States of at least half Canadian blood, which is more than half the number of similar stock in Canada.

Massachusetts had 516,379 persons of Canadian stock in 1900, and Michigan 407,999. Among all the Provinces and States of the North American continent, Massachusetts was third in its population of Canadian blood, and Boston was the third Canadian city. Classifying the States and Provinces of the continent according to their Canadian population in

1900-1901, without regard to the international boundary line, we find that those strongest in that element rank in the following order:

1. Ontario	1,858,787
2. Quebec	1,560,190
3. Massachusetts	516,379
4. Nova Scotia	435,172
5. Michigan	407,999
6. New Brunswick	313,178
7. New York	226,506
8. Manitoba	180,859
9. Maine	133,885
10. Minnesota	114,547
11. Illinois	114,456
12. British Columbia	99,612
13. Prince Edward Island	99,006
14. New Hampshire	97,933
15. Wisconsin	80,766
16. Rhode Island	67,397
17. California	64,806
18. Vermont	62,386
19. Connecticut	52,678
20. Iowa	52,623
21. Ohio	46,747
22. Assiniboia	38,686
23. Pennsylvania	35,385
24. Alberta	35,366
25. Unorganized territories and Yukon	33,476
26. Kansas	29,094
27. Nebraska	27,372
28. Missouri	26,367
29. Montana	24,638
30. Colorado	21,492
31. Oregon	17,863
32. Saskatchewan	17,483

It must be noted that there is a slight discrepancy in the comparisons, owing to the fact that the Canadian census does not give statistics of parentage. This makes it necessary to confine the figures for Canada to native Canadians. The difference is not material, however, since the number of persons domiciled in Canada, with Canadian parents, but not

born in the country themselves, is a negligible quantity in such comparisons as these. In fact we might take the total population of the Canadian Provinces without materially altering the relations.

In density of Canadian population, ignoring all other elements, Massachusetts stands first, far exceeding any province of Canada, and Rhode Island second.

The relative rank of the various Provinces and States previously named on this basis is:

	Canadian Population per square mile
1. Massachusetts	64.2
2. Rhode Island.....	64
3. Prince Edward Island.....	45.36
4. Nova Scotia.....	20.6
5. New Brunswick.....	11.2
6. Connecticut	10.9
7. New Hampshire	10.8
8. Ontario.....	8.4
9. Michigan	7.1
10. Vermont.....	6.8
11. New York	4.8
12. Quebec	4.5
13. Maine.....	4.4
14. Manitoba	2.8
15. Illinois	2.0
16. Wisconsin	1.4
17. Minnesota	1.4
18. Ohio	1.1
19. Iowa .....	.94
20. Pennsylvania .....	.78
21. Assiniboia.....	.43
22. California .....	.41
23. Missouri .....	.38
24. Kansas .....	.36
25. Nebraska .....	.35
26. Alberta .....	.34
27. British Columbia .....	.27
28. Colorado.....	.20
29. Oregon.....	.19
30. Saskatchewan .....	.17
31. Montana .....	.16
32. Unorganized Canadian Territories and Yukon.....	.01

Classified in the same way, the principal Canadian cities in 1900-1901 were:

1. Montreal	¹ 267,730
2. Toronto	208,040
3. Boston	84,336
4. Quebec	66,231
5. Chicago	64,615
6. Ottawa	49,718
7. Detroit	44,592
8. New York	40,400
9. Halifax	² 40,000
10. Hamilton, Ont.	39,070
11. St. John's, New Brunswick	² 36,000
12. Fall River, Mass.	35,451
13. Lowell, Mass.	29,895
14. Winnipeg	26,351
15. Cambridge, Mass.	26,045
16. Manchester, N. H.	23,164

Since the Canadian census gives statistics of nationality only by electoral districts, which do not always coincide with city boundaries, it is necessary here to give Montreal and Toronto an advantage in the comparison by taking their total population, and to use approximate figures for Halifax and St. John. The net result of the exhibit is that of the sixteen cities with over 20,000 inhabitants of Canadian stock, eight are in Canada and eight in the United States.

In six American cities of over 25,000 inhabitants each, the Canadian population is larger than the American, and in several others it is almost as large. In 1900 Fall River, Massachusetts, had 14,300 native inhabitants born of American or unknown parents, and 32,334 with both parents Canadians. Holyoke had 7,636 of American and 11,805 of Canadian parentage; Lawrence 10,467 and 11,500 of American and Canadian respectively; Lowell, 20,828 and 24,928; Manchester, New Hampshire, 15,324 and 20,309; Woon-

¹ Total population.

² Approximate.

socket, Rhode Island, 4,623 and 14,192. In all these places, except Lawrence, the French Canadian element alone greatly exceeded the American, and there it fell very little short.

Thus Canada from the point of view of nationality is very different from Canada as a political unit. Greater Canada—the home of the Canadian people—reaches down to Long Island Sound, westward south of the Great Lakes, and on to the Pacific Coast. The present international boundary cuts this territory into two. Fully half of the area actually settled by people of Canadian race is thus separated from the rest.

Notwithstanding the remarkable vigor of the Canadian people, and especially the extraordinary fertility of its French-speaking portion, the population of Quebec increased between 1891 and 1901 by only about 9 per cent., while in the rest of the older Provinces of Canada, the population was stationary or decreasing. The simple explanation is found in the growth of the little Canada south of the line by 20.4 per cent. between 1890 and 1900, by 36.7 per cent. in the decade before that, by 45.3 per cent. in the decade before that, and by 97.4 per cent. in the decade before that. The source of the Canadian population remained in the north, but its increase went to the south, and that increase was proportionately greater by far than that of either Canada or the United States as a whole. There are no accurate statistics of the movement of population from Canada to the United States, but the volume has certainly been from fifty to a hundred thousand persons annually for at least forty years.

In the debates on the British North America Act in the Canadian Parliament in 1865 it was predicted that the population of the new Dominion would reach twelve millions before the end of the nineteenth century, and this expectation seemed reasonable. That it was disappointed, the century closing with less than half that number of people living north of the international boundary, was due chiefly to the con-

stant southern diversion of Canada's gains by birth and immigration.

A striking illustration of the Canadian drift to the southward, is found in the fact that of the 16,216 persons mentioned in the 1905-07 edition of "Who's Who in America" 260 were born in Canada, while only 29 were living there at the time the book was published, and these twenty-nine included several of American birth.

The United States Bureau of Immigration has active accounts with forty-five corporations regularly transporting passengers across the Canadian boundary. Its returns show a continuous stream of travel crossing and recrossing the border. There is a growing tendency to treat both countries as one for the purpose of dealing with immigration. Each undertakes to sift the arrivals from Europe by restrictive laws. In the year 1905, 48,718 of these aliens tried to reach the United States by way of Canada. To test their qualifications for entry, American immigration officers were maintained not only on the frontier, but also at the Canadian seaports. The American Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal speaks in his report for 1905 of the cordial relations existing between his office, the Dominion government, and the Canadian transportation lines, and attributes them to the growing feeling among citizens of Canada in general, that as regards the selecting of their future citizens the interests of the Dominion and the United States are identical.¹

It is only recently that the Canadian southward current has been balanced to any marked extent by a counter current flowing toward the north, but it has always been inevitable that the vast vacant stretches of fertile land in the Canadian Northwest would in time attract an American migration. Until the beginning of the present century the

¹ *Report U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, 1905, p. 70.*

progress of American settlement was held in with remarkable effectiveness by the imaginary fence of the forty-ninth parallel. The States touching the border on the American side between Lake Superior and the Pacific increased their population by over 2,100,000 in the twenty years between 1880 and 1900. The territories on the Canadian side of that invisible line, with better land, did not gain one-tenth of that number of people in the same period. That meant simply that the American territories were filling up faster than the Canadian, and that from the overcrowded hives the old swarming process would soon be repeated. The movement began a few years ago. It was not premeditated, it was not impelled by any political design—it was simply the spontaneous migration of a multitude of individuals anxious to better their condition and restrained from doing so at home by the engrossment of all natural opportunities. When such a migration once begins in America, it proceeds with startling celerity. When the nucleus of Oklahoma was opened to settlement it filled up in a single day. In three hours it had acquired as many inhabitants as the vast and wealthy province of British Columbia had gained in thirty years. The same experience was repeated in the case of the Sioux Reservation, and again in that of the Cherokee Strip, and on every other piece of western land whose fences have been suddenly thrown down. In the Canadian Northwest, there were hundreds of millions of acres of land inviting cultivation, with nothing but a parallel of latitude to shut them off from the swarming multitudes that were pushing their way through cordons of bayonets to find homes on Indian reservations of problematical value. This line could not remain a barrier forever.

In 1851 there were 56,214 persons of American birth in the then Province of Canada—now Quebec and Ontario. In 1881, thirty years later, there were only 77,753 in the

whole Dominion, against 717,157 Canadians in the United States in 1880. For the next ten years the American-born population of Canada remained substantially stationary. There were only 80,915 persons of that nativity in the Dominion in 1891 as compared with 980,938 inhabitants of Canadian birth in the United States in 1890. The American northward current began to run a little more freely in the succeeding decade. In the calendar year 1898 there were 9,119 declared settlers arriving in Canada from the United States; in 1899, 11,945, and in the first six months of 1900, 8,543. In the fiscal year 1901 there were 17,987, and the census of March 31 of that year showed 127,899 residents of American birth in the Dominion, against 1,181,255 of Canadian birth in the United States. In the fiscal year 1902 the number of settlers entering Canada from the Republic rose to 26,388, and in 1903 to 49,473. In 1904 the number of immigrants from the South was 45,229, and in 1905, 43,498. But of these American citizens formed a small minority, amounting only to 62,717 in ten years. Many were repatriated Canadians, and many others were immigrants from Great Britain and Continental Europe who had stayed for a time in the United States and then moved on to Canada.

CHAPTER II

THE PROGRESS OF GOVERNMENT.

THE political development of Canada has been largely affected by its colonial position. If from the political activities of the United States since 1867 we subtract all military and naval matters, except the care of the militia, all concern for the Monroe doctrine, and all foreign affairs except relations with the British Empire, we shall have a state of things resembling that which has existed in the Dominion since its birth. The politics of Canada have been essentially parochial. No Canadian government has ever had to concern itself with the maintenance of the open door in China, the construction of a Panama canal, or the conclusion of peace between Russia and Japan. Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, statesmen who, with greater opportunities, might have affected the destinies of the world as deeply as Salisbury or Roosevelt, have had to confine their activities to the local interests of a population smaller than that of the state of Pennsylvania.

Nevertheless, within the limits imposed by its colonial relations, Canada has had a political development essentially the same as that of the United States. There has been a pleasant conventionality north of the line to the effect that the atmosphere of Canadian politics has been purer than that of the Republic. But there never was any real foundation for this theory, and little effort is made to maintain it any longer. Formerly politics in Canada, as in the United States, consisted of an attempt by one party to keep the

offices, and of the other to get them. Gradually the prizes of office on both sides of the line became overshadowed by the profits to be gained by financial interests from the control of the powers of government. Tariffs, subsidies, bounties and land grants in the national sphere, and the distribution of franchises and contracts in the localities, became the hidden springs of political action. As this situation became understood the reaction against it was felt in both countries in the same direction. The agitation for the regulation of dangerous masses of capital, for the preservation of the community's rights in franchises, and for the public ownership of public utilities, took hold of the Canadian and of the American mind at the same time.

Substantially the only difference between Canadian and American politics lies in that variation in the machinery of government which comes from Canada's longer subjection to British influences. When the American colonies broke away from England and began an independent development, they embodied in a written constitution the ideas that were then prevalent on both sides of the ocean. They put over the States elective governors with many of the powers previously exercised by the royal governors of provinces, and at the head of the nation they put a George III, subject to change every four years. While the American governors and Presidents, drawing their authority from the people, were able to retain their constitutional powers in fact as well as in theory, the hereditary king in England, and the royal governors in Canada, had to yield to the pressure of democracy. The powers of the Crown at home passed over to a committee of Parliament, and in due time the powers of the Crown's representative in Canada followed the same course. Responsible Cabinet government on the present English model now exists in the Dominion and in each of its provinces, while eighteenth-century royal government, with a

time limit on the tenure of its executive head, exists in the American Union, and to a greater or less extent in each of its States.

The development of free government in Canada began with the Constitutional Act of 1791. By this the Province of Quebec was divided into the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, each with a Legislative Council and a popular Assembly.

The members of the Legislative Council were to be appointed for life by the Crown, through the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor.

The prevailing desire among the ruling classes in England to reproduce British conditions in Canada was manifested in a provision authorizing the creation of a Canadian peerage, with hereditary seats in the Council. This plan, which was proposed by Pitt and favored by Burke, was carried against the opposition of Fox.¹

The members of the Assembly were to be elected by land-owners or house-owners.

The Governor was to have the power to fix the time and place for holding each session of the Legislature.

The Council and Assembly were to meet at least once a year, and the term of the Assembly was to be four years, subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor.

Bills might be signed or vetoed by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, or reserved for the royal pleasure.

Any bill signed by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor might be disallowed by the Crown within two years, becoming void from the date of notification.

No bill reserved for the royal pleasure was to go into effect until the assent of the Crown had been received.

Authority was given to the Crown to endow "a Protestant

¹ Houston, *Constitutional Documents of Canada*, p. 146, note 5.

clergy" (meaning an Anglican clergy) with land, and the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor was to have power to present ministers of the Church of England to benefices. The Governor's right of endowment was abolished sixty years later by the Canadian Parliament.

All lands in Upper Canada were to be granted in free and common socage in the English manner.

Thus Canada was endowed with a purely English constitution. It was handed down ready-made by the British Parliament, and any resemblances that might be found in it to American institutions were only such as sprang from the common origin of the English and American people. The election of members by districts was a natural device for a new country with no historic electoral divisions, but no attempt was made to copy the system, established by the Constitution of the United States just before, of apportioning seats according to population. It was provided that there should be not less than sixteen members in all for Upper Canada and fifty for Lower Canada, but subject to that requirement the Governors might distribute the membership of the Assemblies as they pleased. Nor was there any provision for an apportionment regulated by law.

Under this constitution the people of Canada had nearly half a century of practice in self-government of a very limited sort. The only change made in the organic law before the disturbances of 1837 was a slight liberalization of the rule of naturalization in 1830. In the original act it had been provided that persons of foreign birth should not be eligible to serve in the Councils or Assemblies or qualified to vote at legislative elections unless they had been naturalized by the British Parliament. The amendment of 1830 extended the privilege in Lower Canada to those naturalized by the Legislature of that Province, but required all acts of naturalization to be reserved for the royal pleasure.¹

¹ Constitutional Act Amendment Act, 11 Geo. IV and 1 William IV, c. 53.

But the institutions established by the Act of 1791 failed to meet the needs of the Canadian people. The system worked with increasing friction, until in 1837 it broke down amid disorders that compelled the suspension of the constitution and the temporary subjection of the country to the unchecked rule of the representative of the Crown. Lord Durham was sent over in 1838, as Governor-in-Chief of the Canadas and High Commissioner, with almost despotic powers. The illuminating report that bears his name told an astonishing tale of Canadian destitution of the most ordinary benefits of civilized government. The failure was especially complete in Lower Canada. There were no municipal institutions; there was no provision for public education; the administration of justice was a burlesque and the roads were so wretched or so totally lacking that when the people of the Lower Canadian townships near the American border wished to hold meetings they were accustomed to cross over into Vermont, and make use as far as possible of the highways built by American enterprise.¹ Throughout his report Lord Durham is continually comparing Canadian and American conditions to the disadvantage of the former, and dwelling sorrowfully upon "the striking contrast which is presented between the American and the British sides of the frontier line in respect to every sign of productive industry, increasing wealth, and progressive civilization."²

In the Maritime Provinces, he observes, "their scanty population exhibits, in most portions of them, an aspect of poverty, backwardness and stagnation; and wherever a better state of things is visible, the improvement is generally to be ascribed to the influx of American settlers or capitalists."³ The Reformers of Upper Canada, according to Lord

¹ *Lord Durham's Report*, Dutton edition, p. 151.

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Durham, professed to desire to make the colonial constitution "an exact transcript" of that of Great Britain. "It cannot be doubted, however," he added, "that there were many of the party who wished to assimilate the institutions of the Province rather to those of the United States than to those of the mother country."¹

This was hardly surprising, for in his own recommendations for reform American experience plays a most important part.

Lord Durham proposed a legislative union of the two Canadas with responsible government. He advised the ultimate inclusion of the Maritime Provinces in this union, but this part of the plan did not appeal to the people of that region. The legislature of Nova Scotia objected to it on the ground, among others, that "its tendency would be to separate the Colonies from the parent State by imbuing the rising generation with a fondness of electoral institutions to an extent inconsistent with the British constitution."² But New Brunswick had already practically secured responsible government in 1837 and Nova Scotia obtained it in 1840.

The substance of Lord Durham's recommendations for Canada was embodied in the Union Act of 1840 (3 & 4 Vict., cap. 35.) By this statute, Upper and Lower Canada were reunited under the name of the Province of Canada, whose laws were to be made by a Legislative Council and Assembly. The members of the Council were to be appointed by the Governor for life, and the resignation of a Councillor was permitted. Such permission had not been granted by the Act of 1791, although a Councillor could vacate his place by living out of the Province for two years. The Speaker of the Council was to be appointed and re-

¹ *Lord Durham's Report*, Dutton edition, p. 108.

² Charles R. Tuttle, *Short History of the Dominion of Canada*, p. 320.

moved by the Governor. Ten members of the Council out of a minimum membership of twenty were to be necessary for a quorum.

Twenty members were to be required for a quorum in the Assembly. No provision for a quorum had been made in the Act of 1791. The old apportionment was to continue, with amendments specified in the Act, until changed by a new law which was to require a two-thirds vote of the entire membership of the Council and Assembly. Writs for elections were to be issued by the Governor within fourteen days after summoning the Assembly, and returnable within fifty days. None but landholders to the value of £500 were to be eligible to the Assembly. The times and places for holding the sessions of the Legislature were to be fixed by the Governor, and could be changed at his discretion.

The Council and Assembly were to meet at least once a year, and the Assembly was to last four years, subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved by the Governor. Bills might be signed or vetoed by the Governor or reserved for the royal pleasure. Bills signed might be disallowed by the Crown within two years, becoming void from the date of notification. No bill reserved for the royal pleasure was to go into effect until the Crown's assent had been communicated to the Legislature or proclaimed by the Governor. All the legislative records were to be in the English language. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and certain members of the Executive Council were to constitute a Court of Appeals, as previously in the separate Provinces. Appropriation and tax bills were to originate in the Assembly. No such provision had existed previously.

The influence of American example, or of general New World conditions, is observed here in several points. Pitt's hereditary Councillors have been quietly dropped, although the Council still remains appointive for life. A demand for

elective Councillors had been one of the grounds of the insurrection of 1837, and a weak attempt was made in Parliament to embody this innovation in the law, but the spirit of democracy was not yet vigorous enough for that. The English rule that a member of the Upper House cannot rid himself of his responsibilities, is replaced by permission for Councillors to resign. Provision is made for a quorum, which in the Upper House comes much nearer to the American rule of a majority in the Senate, than to the English three in the House of Lords. In the Assembly the quorum more nearly follows the proportion of the membership required in the British House of Commons. The apportionment of constituencies for the Assembly is taken out of the hands of the Governor and made a matter of statute law, as in the United States. The provision requiring appropriation and tax bills to originate in the Assembly must be considered a direct offshoot of British parliamentary practice, rather than an imitation of the United States, for while American revenue bills must originate in the House, the Senate shares the right to initiate appropriation bills—a right not exercised, however, in the case of the great regular appropriations. The Governor was nominally endowed with the power of selecting the capital and moving it about the country at his pleasure—a power which the Governor of each province had possessed under the Act of 1791—but this power was really exercised by the Legislature, which moved the capital from Kingston to Montreal and then alternately to Toronto and Quebec, finally submitting the selection of a permanent capital to the arbitration of Queen Victoria, who named Ottawa in 1858.¹

By the Union Act Amendment Act of 1848 (11 & 12 Vict., cap. 56) the requirement that the legislative records should be in the English language was repealed.

¹ Houston, *Constitutional Documents of Canada*, p. 183, note.

The Union Act Amendment Act of 1854 (17 & 18 Vict., cap. 118) gave authority to the Legislature to alter the composition of the Legislative Council, to fix the number of its members, and the mode of their appointment or election, and to provide for the separate dissolution of the Council and Assembly, on condition that any bill for such purposes should be reserved for the royal pleasure. The requirement that certain bills passed by the Legislature of Canada should be laid before the Imperial Parliament was abolished. In accordance with the authority given by this act, the Legislative Council was made elective in 1856, with 48 members elected by districts for eight-year terms, twelve retiring every two years. (Canadian Statutes, 19 & 20 Vict., cap. 140.) The Union Act Amendment Act of 1859 (22 & 23 Vict., cap. 10), authorized the Legislature to provide for the appointment or election of the speaker of the Legislative Council whose selection had previously been intrusted to the Governor. Under this authority the Legislature in 1860 directed that the Council should elect its speaker. Canada was now provided with a Legislature which, if not strictly on the American pattern, was much nearer to it than anything known at first.

The plan of governing French and English Canada as a single province proved unworkable. For a time the rule was observed of refraining from passing any measure affecting either section without the votes of a majority of the members from that section, as well as of the whole body. But in time this compromise broke down, and Upper Canada, complaining that the French Canadians were over-represented, angrily demanded representation by population. A crisis was at hand when a conference met at Charlottetown, in September, 1864, to consider the question of a union among the Maritime Provinces. This was Canada's opportunity. She sent eight delegates to Charlottetown,

who proposed that the Maritime union be expanded to take in Canada. The conference adjourned to Quebec, where it met on October 10.

In this historic gathering there were thirty-three members—twelve from Canada, five from Nova Scotia, seven from New Brunswick, seven from Prince Edward Island, and two from Newfoundland.¹ The Quebec Conference was the Philadelphia Convention of Canada. In a working term of eighteen days it framed seventy-two resolutions, which were approved by the Legislature of Canada, after long debates. The Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia having agreed to the plan, the former with, and the latter without a popular mandate, a second conference was held at London in 1866, and the Quebec resolutions, with a few amendments, were submitted to the Imperial Parliament, and enacted into law without further change. This great statute, "the British North America Act," (30 & 31 Vict., cap. 3, Statutes at Large), created a new nation stretching across the continent, and has ever since remained its constitution. Its preamble states that the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into one Dominion "with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." This is described by Professor Dicey as "official mendacity." He adds: "If preambles were intended to express the truth, for the word 'kingdom' ought to have been substituted 'States,' since it is clear that the Constitution of the Dominion is modeled on that of the Union."²

"The Swiss Confederation and the Dominion of Canada," observes Professor Dicey in another place, "are copied from the American model."³

¹ Cockburn, *Political Annals of Canada*, 377-378.

² *Introduction to the Law of the Constitution*, c. iii, pp. 152-153, edition of 1885.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

By the terms of the British North America Act, Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were to form one Dominion under the name of Canada, to be divided into four Provinces named Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

A Parliament was to be established, containing a Senate and House of Commons, their powers not to exceed those of the British House of Commons. There were to be at first seventy-two Senators, twenty-four each from Ontario and Quebec, and twenty-four from the Maritime Provinces, all appointed by the Governor-General for life. Senators were to be landholders to the value of \$4,000, and to be residents in the Province from which they were appointed. They were to have the privilege of resigning. The Speaker of the Senate was to be appointed and removed by the Governor-General, and fifteen Senators were to constitute a quorum.

The members of the House of Commons were to be elected from districts, based upon a decennial census. Quebec was always to have sixty-five members, the representation of the other Provinces being adjusted to that number according to population.

Bills might be signed or vetoed by the Governor-General or reserved for the royal pleasure. When signed, they might be disallowed by the Crown within two years, becoming void from the date of notification. Bills reserved for the royal pleasure were not to go into effect until approved by the Crown. All powers not assigned exclusively to the Provincial Legislatures were reserved to the Parliament of Canada, which had moreover, a long list of especially enumerated subjects under its exclusive jurisdiction.

Each Province was to be presided over by a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and holding office during his pleasure. The provisions of the Act respecting the Parliament of Canada with regard

to appropriation and tax bills, recommendation of money votes, assent to bills, disallowance of Acts, and significance of pleasure on bills reserved, were to apply to the legislatures of the various Provinces, with the substitution of review by the Governor-General within one year, for that by the Crown within two years.

The Governor General was to appoint the Judges of the Superior, District and County Courts in each Province except those of the Courts of Probate of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Subsidies were to be paid by Canada to the various Provinces toward the support of their governments.

Either the English or the French language was to be used in the debates and records of the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of Quebec, and in judicial procedure in any court of Canada or Quebec.

Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia were to be admitted into the Dominion by mutual agreement, and Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory to be admitted at the option of the Dominion Parliament. By an amendment to the British North America Act, passed June 29, 1871, the Parliament of Canada was authorized to provide for the government of any territory not included in any Province. Another amendment, passed June 25, 1886, authorized the Parliament of Canada to provide for the representation in the Senate and House of Commons, or either of them, of any territories of the Dominion, not included in any Province.

The British North America Act, which in form was an ordinary act of the Imperial Parliament, was in reality a federal constitution. The Quebec Conference, which constructed its framework, was a true Constitutional Convention on the American model, and the nature of its work was

frankly recognized in the parliamentary debates at Westminster. The Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary for the Colonies, who had charge of the bill in the House of Lords, said that it represented a very careful adjustment of conflicting views, and that any material amendment of it in Parliament would be fatal to its success.

Notwithstanding the assertion in the preamble that this constitution was based on that of the United Kingdom, no attempt was made in the discussions in the Canadian Parliament to conceal the influence of American example upon its construction, and of the relations between Canada and the United States upon its genesis. The proposed union of the Provinces was presented as the only alternative to union with the Republic. Sir E. P. Taché, the Premier of Canada, said to the Legislative Council on February 3, 1865, in moving confederation upon the basis of the Quebec Resolutions:

"If the opportunity which now presented itself were allowed to pass by unimproved, whether we would or would not, we would be forced into the American Union by violence, and if not by violence, would be placed upon an inclined plain which would carry us there insensibly. In either case the result would be the same. In our present condition we would not long continue to exist as a British colony."¹

Attorney General John A. Macdonald, who moved the resolutions in the Legislative Assembly three days later, said:

"* * * We had the advantage of the experience of the United States. It is the fashion now to enlarge on the defects of the Constitution of the United States, but I am not one of those who look upon it as a failure. (Hear, hear.) I

¹ *Parliamentary Debates on Confederation*, p. 6.

think and believe that it is one of the most skillfull works which human intelligence ever created; is one of the most perfect organizations that ever governed a free people."¹

The French-Canadian Attorney General, G. E. Cartier, told the same Assembly the next day, amid mingled cheers and expressions of dissent:

"The matter resolved itself into this, either we must obtain British North American Confederation or be absorbed in an American Confederation."²

Similar ideas ran through the debates. For instance Mr. H. Mackenzie said on March 3:

"I think the union desirable, not only as a benefit to ourselves, but as a means of consolidating the British Empire on this continent, and to save us from a degrading dependency on the United States, especially as we have the means within ourselves of making them to a certain extent dependent upon us. * * * Looking at the future, I do not think it desirable that one government should exercise sway over the whole of the North American continent. (Hear, hear.) Nor do I think it desirable that such a government should be a republican government. (Hear, hear.)"³

This constant fear of annexation, which seemed to obsess all minds, was consistent with a warm admiration for the good features of American institutions, and a willingness to copy them on every fitting occasion. When George Brown was commending the proposed frame of government in the Legislative Assembly on February 8 he thought it expedient to say:

"And no higher eulogy could, I think, be pronounced than that I heard a few weeks ago from the lips of one of the foremost of British statesmen, that the system of govern-

¹ *Parliamentary Debates on Confederation*, p. 32. ² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 681, 682.

ment we proposed seemed to him a happy compound of the best features of the British and American Constitutions."¹

The constitution framed under such conditions showed throughout the influence of the American example.

It created in the first place a federal system—the first example of such a polity within the British Empire since the old New England Confederation.

The Provinces north of the boundary were the counterparts of the States south of it. A general government was created, with executive, legislative and judicial branches.

The greatest difference was in the constitution of the executive branch, which, in Canada, consisted of a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown, and a ministry responsible to Parliament instead of an elective president with heads of departments responsible to himself. Even this difference is more one of tacit British convention than of formal law.

The Dominion Parliament is a reproduction not of the Imperial Parliament of Westminster but of the Congress at Washington. It consists of a Senate and a House of Commons. The Senate represents Provinces, although not with the exact equality with which the American Senate represents States. It differs from the English House of Lords in that it has no hereditary element and that its members must live in the Provinces they represent. The substitution of the name Senate for that of Legislative Council illustrates the progress of Americanization between 1841 and 1867. On the other hand the abandonment of the privilege of election, secured in Canada Proper by the Act of 1854, and the return to the principle of appointment for life, might seem on their face to indicate a certain reaction from the too rapid advance of democratic principles. In reality, however,

¹ *Parliamentary Debates on Confederation*, p. 85.

the reason for this change was different. It was made partly to satisfy the Maritime Provinces, which did not want an elective Upper House, and partly to quiet a fear that as Upper Canada was growing faster than the rest of the country her people might imagine themselves entitled to a larger representation in the Senate if the principle of election were admitted.¹

The Canadian House of Commons represents population, the basis being regularly revised according to the returns of the decennial census. This is a distinctively American idea, the United States having been the first country in the world to embody in its Constitution the requirement that a census should be taken every ten years and that representatives should be apportioned according to the results. In most parts of Europe even now, an apportionment once made, stands indefinitely. To change it requires an agitation comparable to that which is needed here to amend the Constitution. In Canada, sixty-five members of the House of Commons are allotted to Quebec, and the proportion of seats to population so established is carried through the other Provinces.

The Canadian Senate stands half way between the American Senate and the British House of Lords. While its members represent Provinces, the fact that they are appointed by the Dominion Government and hold office for life prevents them from furnishing anything like an accurate reflection of provincial opinion. A Senator must be thirty years old, which is identical with the age qualification for Senators of the United States. He may resign his place, as American Senators may, and as Peers may not. Unlike Senators of the United States he is subject to a property qualification. Fifteen Senators—between a fifth and a sixth of the total

¹ See the speech of Mr. Campbell in the Legislative Council, Feb. 6, 1865, *Parliamentary Debates on Confederation*, p. 21.

membership—constitute a quorum. This again is midway between the majority requirement of the American Senate, and the three Peers who form a quorum of the British House of Lords. The Speaker of the Senate is appointed by the Governor-General, that is to say by the Ministry, which is responsible to the House of Commons. In this respect the Upper House is really subordinate to the Lower, in striking contrast with its dominant position in the United States. The House of Commons elects its own Speaker.

It was the intention of the Canadian constitution-makers that the House of Commons should be the predominant element in their Parliament, and that the Senate should serve merely to check hasty decisions, giving way when the popular branch reached a settled determination. It was to force such a compliance and avert a possible deadlock that power was given to the Crown to create six additional Senators.¹ The Senate now habitually accepts its constitutional position of subordination.

For the length of a parliamentary term, Canada passed by both the United States with its two-year rule and Great Britain with its seven-year limit, and went to distant New Zealand, where Parliaments are elected for five years. The Governor General has the power of dissolution—another case in which British practice has prevailed over American. The quorum of twenty members in the House of Commons is also British, bearing an even smaller ratio to the total membership than the forty required in the Commons in England, while nearly two hundred Representatives are required to satisfy the majority rule at Washington. A very important restriction on the power of Parliament which does not exist either in England or in America is the rule that no

¹ Earl of Carnarvon in the House of Lords, Feb. 19, 1867, *Hansard*, 3rd ser., vol. 185, p. 559.

money shall be appropriated and no taxes laid without the recommendation of the Governor General.

The veto power in Canada is nominally absolute, as in England, instead of subject to be overruled by a two-thirds vote, as in America. But the American partial veto is a very real thing as far as it goes, while the British absolute veto is a phantom, which has had no substance for two hundred years. The veto power in Canada is almost as spectral as in England—not quite, however, for an Act of the Dominion Parliament may be constitutionally disallowed by the Crown if it be in direct conflict with a treaty or an Act of the Imperial Parliament applying directly to Canada.¹

The Senate of the United States holds its commanding position through its partial control over appointments and other executive matters, such as treaties. In Canada the whole executive power is under the direct control of the House of Commons, which is thus much more distinctly the predominant partner than even the American Senate. As in England and America, money bills in Canada must originate in the popular house. But this principle is carried farther in Canada than in the United States, for in the Dominion Parliament the House of Commons must originate not only revenue but appropriation bills, while at Washington special appropriations are often carried on Senate bills. The requirement that every appropriation or revenue bill must be limited to the recommendations of the Governor General is really in the interest of the dominant party organization. It is a limitation on the independent members of the House, not on the House itself, since the Governor General recommends anything his ministers advise, and his ministers are the leaders of the party which controls the Commons.

The Dominion of Canada began its career without any

¹ Bourinot, *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada*, p. 156.

federal judicial system, but the constitution gave to Parliament power to establish such a system, and this power was exercised in 1875. The Canadian judiciary has one fundamentally important function in common with that of the United States, and unknown to England. It tests the laws of the Federal and Provincial Parliaments by the provisions of the constitution, and declares them void if they transgress the limits laid down for them. This right of the courts, which seems logically implied in the working of a constitution of definitely distributed powers, has not made its way among the people who live under such constitutions in Continental Europe, but the force of American example has carried it naturally into Canadian practice. In the appointment of judges centralization is carried much farther in Canada than in the United States. Not only the federal judges, but those of the Superior, District and County Courts in each Province, except in the case of the Courts of Probate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are appointed by the Governor General. As in some States, such as New York, but unlike the rule in the United States, the judges of the Superior Court may be removed by the Governor General on address of Parliament without the necessity of conviction after a formal impeachment trial.

In the United States the Federal Government has only such powers as are specifically granted to it and all others are reserved to the States or to the people. In Canada precisely the opposite principle prevails. There it is the Provinces which are confined to the specially granted powers and the Federal Government which is the depository of the unenumerated powers. But even there Canada has been acting on American lines. The distribution of powers in a Federal Government as it presented itself to the framers of the British North America Act, was a purely American problem to be settled by American experience. To the

members of the Quebec Conference, meeting in 1864 in the midst of the Civil War, it seemed clear that the grant of the reserved powers to the States had given undue vigor to the disruptive principle of State sovereignty. They wished to avoid any such danger for Canada, and so they profited by the American warning to strengthen their central government. They could not know that even under the American Constitution the result of the Civil War would be to strengthen the central government quite as much as was desirable.

In the schedules governing the distribution of functions between the general and the local governments the British North America Act is clearly an adaptation of the Constitution of the United States, with such modifications in detail as experience and varying conditions suggested. In some cases the very words of the American Constitution are repeated. Among the powers assigned respectively to the American Congress and the Dominion Parliament are these :

United States.

Constitution of the United States,
Art. I, Sec. 8:

"To borrow money on the credit of
the United States."

"To regulate commerce with foreign
nations and among the several States,
and with the Indian tribes."

"To establish an uniform rule of
naturalization and uniform laws on the
subject of bankruptcies throughout the
United States."

"To coin money, regulate the value
thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the
standard of weights and measures."

"To establish post offices and post
roads."

Canada.

British North America Act, Sec. 1,
91:

"The borrowing of money on the
public credit."

"The regulation of trade and com-
merce."

"Bankruptcy and insolvency."

"Naturalization and aliens."

"Currency and coinage."

"Weights and measures."

"Legal tender."

"Postal service."

"To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."

"Patents of invention and discovery."
"Copyrights."

"To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years."

"Militia, military and naval service and defence."

"To provide and maintain a navy."

"To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasion."

The most material differences between the powers of the Dominion Parliament and those of the American Congress relate to banking, including savings-banks, interest, marriage and divorce, and the whole criminal law, all of which in Canada are controlled by the central Parliament, while under the American Constitution they fall wholly, or almost wholly, within the reserved powers of the States. In the Dominion, as in the Republic, a preparatory system of Territories has been created, outside of the system of self-governing members of the Federation. In Canada these Territories are represented in Parliament by Senators and members of the House of Commons with full voting powers, while in the United States they have only non-voting delegates in the House of Representatives.

The Canadian constitutions, federal and provincial, are more flexible than the American in the matter of amendments. Although the Dominion constitution, being an Act of the Imperial Parliament, is nominally quite beyond the control of the Canadian people, their responsible government can really secure amendments for the asking, while it is a slow and arduous process for the American people to secure amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

To amend a State constitution is easier, but still it requires some special formalities, including in most cases a referendum vote. In Canada the provincial constitutions may be amended by simple acts of the local Legislatures, except as to the powers of Lieutenant Governor.

On the whole, the relations of the Canadian constitution to its British and American models have perhaps been fairly characterized by Mr. Goldwin Smith:

"In dutiful imitation of that glorious Constitution of the mother country, with its division of power among kings, lords, and commons, which, though it really died with William III, still exists in devout imaginations, the Constitution of the Canadian Dominion has a false front of monarchy. * * * Passing through the false front into the real edifice we find that it is a federal republic after the American model, though with certain modifications derived partly from the British source. The Dominion Legislature answers to Congress, the Provincial Legislature answers to the State Legislature, the Dominion Prime Minister and Cabinet answer to the President and his Cabinet, the Provincial Prime Ministers and their Cabinets to the Governor and officers of States. The relations of the Province and the Dominion to each other are in the main the same as those of the State and the Federation. Were a Canadian Province to be turned at once into a State of the Union the change would be felt by the people only in a certain increase of self-government. The political machinery would act as it does now." ²

¹ *British North America Act*, sec. 92.

² Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, pp. 147-158.

CHAPTER III

"THE SILKEN TIE"

AN obvious difference between Canadian and American conditions is found in the dependent status of Canada. This situation colors the whole Canadian outlook. Under present conditions, the Canadian can never have the simple directness of view of the American. He never can think of Canada alone; he must always think of it in its relations to England. The ever-present sense of Colonial dependence affects different persons in different ways. Some take pride in their relationship to the Mistress of the Seas; others slur it over; others treat it with a suppressed undertone of resentment. At present effusive loyalty to the British connection is the fashion in Canada; yet the subject is one that seems to be getting on Canadian nerves. Everything a British newspaper or a British public man may say about Canada is eagerly read and commented upon in the Dominion, and the least trace of patronage or of unfavorable criticism is angrily resented. Canadian nerves are rawly sensitive to British opinion. When Earl Grey suggested at Toronto in the most deferential way that a contribution from Canada toward the cost of the Imperial navy would not come amiss, a storm of protest broke from the Canadian press. "We are not provoking wars," said the *Hamilton Times*.¹ "We do not wish to be bound to pay for wars about the making of which we have no say. We shall spend our own defence money in our own way, after due consultation with

¹ May 6, 1905.

the imperial authorities. We would rather raise wheat, potatoes, cattle, sheep and hogs, and make machinery and furniture and clothing and build houses, than cut other people's throats. We have no world-conquering ambitions; we are a peaceful people—when let alone. But we have not forgotten the ties of blood and kindred; and we have shown that we are not to be despised when real fighting is necessary. Don't pretend to tax us till we have a voice in the squandering of taxes. Don't ask us to pledge our sons as food for powder in wars that we might object to waging. Don't nag. And bear in mind that the man who orders the dinner is the man who gets the check. No say, no pay."

This question of Canadian contributions to the British military and naval budget had been warmly discussed from the very foundation of the Dominion. It had been brought up in the debates on the British North America Act, when the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon, said of it:

"Again, we are told that the proportions of military expenditure are not fairly adjusted between the mother country and Canada. Well, I think that the time has probably come for a reconsideration of those charges, and to that opinion there are many in Canada who will subscribe."¹

Immediately after the achievement of Federation the British Government relieved itself of most of the immediate cost of Canadian defense by withdrawing all its troops from Canada except the garrison of Halifax, to which was afterward added a force at Esquimalt.

In 1884, Canada furnished a contingent of about four hundred men to the Imperial Government for the expedition against the Mahdi.² Much more substantial aid was ren-

¹ Earl of Carnarvon in House of Lords, Feb. 19, 1867, *Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 185 p. 575.

² Cockburn, *Political Annals of Canada*, p. 458.

dered in 1899-1900 during the Boer War. But the Canadians persistently refused to regard themselves as under any obligation to furnish any financial aid, or systematic aid of any sort, to the general defensive system of the empire. Indeed many of them, especially the French Canadians, were bitterly opposed to the dispatch of the contingent during the Boer War, and some doubt is expressed now whether the experiment will be repeated.¹

While Australia, New Zealand and South Africa were offering contributions towards the support of the British Navy, Canada firmly refused to contribute a cent. Her theory was that as an integral part of the empire, with a longer land frontier than that of any other colony, she was doing her share toward imperial defense when she developed her own resources, kept up her own militia and maintained her great railroad and telegraphic links in the system of intra-imperial communication. In pursuance of this theory of Canadian self-sufficiency she consented to the withdrawal of the last British garrison on her soil in 1905, accepting for herself the responsibility of defending the ports of Halifax and Esquimalt. The political opponents of the present Dominion Government have criticised its policy in the matter of imperial defense, as well as in other things, maintaining that it is humiliating for Canada to accept the protection of the British navy without helping to pay for it, but the Govern-

¹ "But in all honesty I must say that, with one or two exceptions, the opinion I gathered in Canada last year was that England must not look to the Dominion to do the same thing again. The position taken up by men of all shades of politics, Ministers of State, Western politicians, journalists, came to this: 'We helped you out of love, but we don't intend to be swept off our feet again. You can rely upon us, we will help England should she need our help in war and if we think her cause is just.' The significance lies in the addendum. Canada will be a free agent, whether she helps Britain or not. If she wants to she will; if she doesn't she won't. What claim has Britain on Canada?" John Foster Fraser, *Canada as It Is*, p. 267.

ment does not seem to have suffered any loss of popularity on that account. When the Edinburgh *Scotsman* recalled the fact that the sentiments of kinship and loyalty had been as strong among the people of the thirteen revolted colonies as among the British colonies of the present day, and drew the conclusion that something more powerful than such sentiments must be found to maintain the present imperial union, the Toronto *Globe* retorted with a lesson in history. It reminded the Scotsman that "the ministers of George III were not satisfied with intangible attachments," but that "the fatal idea struck somebody that it would be clever to make America help to pay a part of the debt" for Britain's costly wars. "The sentiments of kinship and loyalty were eventually killed by compelling the Colonies to make contributions to the expenditures of the mother country over which they had no control," and now "contemporaneously with the present-day movement for the consolidation of the empire come these complaints from the mother land, that the colonies are not bearing their share of the imperial burdens." The *Globe* asks its Scotch contemporary whether it does not perceive some analogy between the two situations.¹

The inability of Englishmen to realize that Canada has not an Arctic climate is a standing grievance to the Dominion. Kipling's "Our Lady of the Snows" has never been forgiven, and every similar slip on the part of an English writer or public man is sure to draw a shower of angry recriminations. The remark of a Liberal candidate for Parliament in West Aberdeenshire that the harbors of Canada were frozen in winter was the text for a number of scornful sermons upon British ignorance. The fact that Lord Minto, formerly Governor General of Canada, had himself and his family photographed in London swathed in furs, was taken as a

¹ *Toronto Globe*, June 30, 1905.

direct insult to the Dominion. Such costumes, the *Winnipeg Tribune* angrily asserted, "would be worn in Canada only at a fancy-dress skating carnival—and even then, they would be found so uncomfortable that one turn around the rink would be as effective as a Turkish bath." "Governors General are not supposed to be of any real use to the country," the *Tribune* added, "but Canada has a right to expect that they will control themselves sufficiently to avoid injuring the land from which they draw a fat salary."¹

While Canada is effusively proud of her British connection in the abstract, the consensus of testimony is that the Englishman in the concrete is not as popular in the Dominion as the American. In the Northwest especially, the American immigrant, adaptable and really identical with the Canadian, is vastly preferred to the English immigrant, who is inclined to overlook the glorious possibilities of the new land in the shock of the discovery that he has to pay ten cents on the frontier for a glass of beer he could get at home for three half-pence.

Nor is this prejudice against the arriving Englishman new. English immigrants complained of it in the early part of the last century. Lord Durham took notice of it, as a grievance full grown, in that all-seeing Report of his in 1839, saying:

"Besides those causes of complaint which are common to the whole of the Colony, the British settlers have many peculiar to themselves. * * * They complain that while the Canadians are desirous of having British capital and labor brought into the Colony, by means of which their fields may be cultivated, and the value of their unsettled possessions increased, they refuse to make the Colony really attractive to British skill and British capitalists. They say that an Englishman, emigrating to Upper Canada, is practically as

¹ *Winnipeg Tribune*, Aug. 28, 1905.

much an alien in that British Colony as he would be if he were to emigrate to the United States. * * * His English qualifications avail him little or nothing. He cannot, if a surgeon, licensed to act in England, practice without the license of a Board of Examiners in the Province. If an attorney he has to submit to an apprenticeship of five years before he is allowed to practice. * * * In some of the new states of America, on the contrary, especially in Illinois, an individual may practice as a surgeon or lawyer almost immediately on his arrival in the country, and he has every right of citizenship after a residence of six months in the state. An Englishman is, therefore, in effect less an alien in a foreign country than in one which forms a part of the British Empire."¹

Mr. Goldwin Smith, writing over half a century after Lord Durham, found the same situation existing, and said of it:

"The notion that an Englishman enjoys a preference in Canada is pleasant but not well founded. He is rather apt to be an object of jealousy. Anything like favor shown to him gives umbrage. The appointment of three English professors in Toronto University roused a feeling which lingered long."²

Mr. Smith expressly excepted Manitoba and the new settlements in the Northwest from this description, explaining that "there all alike are newcomers, and no one has to encounter any jealousy or prejudice whatever." But it does not take long in those regions to convert the newcomer into an old-timer, loftily contemptuous or fiercely jealous of still later arrivals. Mr. John Foster Fraser, writing in 1905, fourteen years later than Mr. Smith, finds that "Englishmen as a rule are not welcomed in Winnipeg either by employers or by artisans." "The employers dislike him because he

¹ *Lord Durham's Report*, p. 122.

² Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 52.

brings his trade unionism with him, and Englishmen are the leaders in all strikes." "The workmen themselves don't welcome him, because their cry is: 'Winnipeg for the Winnipeggers, Canada for the Canadians, and to Gehenna with the unspeakable Englishman.'" ¹ Mr. Fraser heard on all hands that the American was the best of all immigrants to Canada. On the other hand, the *St. John Telegraph*, commenting upon Mr. Fraser's volume, observes satirically that, "Canadians might never suspect how coarse, ignorant, conceited and withal amusing they are if talented Englishmen did not come out occasionally and write books about them." ²

The refusal of the British Government to admit Canadian live cattle to the United Kingdom has been a source of prolonged bitterness in the Dominion. The essence of thousands of resentful opinions was expressed by a member of the Canadian House of Commons, Mr. Robert Bickerdike, of Montreal, when he said: "I think that I know old John Bull probably as well as any other member in this House. I have been doing business with him for over thirty years, and I would venture to say that there is not a particle of sentiment in any of his dealings. John Bull would buy from a Hottentot just as readily as from loyal Canada." ³

The withdrawal of the British garrisons from Halifax and Vancouver, leaving no connection between Canada and Great Britain except the shadowy authority of the Crown, was witnessed by Canadians with varying emotions. Some saw in it merely a graceful recognition of Canada's emergence from tutelage into an equal partnership in the Empire, but to others it was ominous of a weakening of the bonds between the mother and daughter lands. The Canadian Senator Domville, wrote to the British Navy League: "We regret exceedingly over here that the navy and army have with-

¹ John Foster Fraser, *Canada as It Is*, pp. 111-112.

² May, 1905.

³ *Ottawa Citizen*, Sept. 7, 1905.

drawn, and by some it is thought it may be the beginning of an end, severing, as it were, the last link between Canada and the old country. I am afraid in England they do not fully recognize what Canada's future will be."¹

Commenting upon several recent acts of the British Government, the *Halifax Herald* soon afterward observed, "No one in this country, we presume, wishes to think, or would probably dare say, that Great Britain has at the present moment any actual intention of withdrawing from this continent, where her flag still floats over at least as much territory as that of any other sovereign state. But if such were Britain's known intention, some of the things her government and people have been doing would be more intelligible and easily understood."²

"It cannot be denied," says the *St. John Star* in the course of a plea for the Chamberlain policy of imperial preference, "that at the present time Canada is not drawing closer to the mother land. Rather are the ties unraveling. Canada guarding her own gates and dreaming of the construction of her own navy is by no means so dependent upon Great Britain as when she relied solely upon the mother for protection."³

The truth is that loyalty to the British connection is rapidly changing its meaning for Canadians. It used to mean loyalty to England, and in that sense Canada, with her swiftly-developing consciousness of nationality and power, is steadily outgrowing it. The French Canadians never had it. Canadians of all kinds are ceasing to regard themselves as the people of a British colony. They are citizens of an allied nation. Their loyalty is no longer to England, but to the British Empire, of which they consider themselves equal members, with the confident expectation that before very long they will be first.

¹ *Halifax Herald*, May 13, 1905.

² *Ibid.*, May 30, 1905.

³ *St. John Star*, Dec. 27, 1905.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRACY

THE original organization of Canadian society was aristocratic. In the French period the King's chief officials and the great land-owners formed an imitation noblesse whose supremacy was humbly recognized by the mass of the people. Among the English-speaking immigrants who settled the waste lands after the American Revolution the United Empire Loyalists were strongly predisposed to aristocratic ideas. But the process of developing a new country under a free government is not favorable to the persistence of such habits of mind. Aristocracy implies a leisure class, and there never has been a leisure class in Canada. The atmosphere of the American continent is at least as potent a leveler north as south of the international boundary. Although there are a few Canadian knights and baronets—some of them, like Sir William Van Horne and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, of American birth—and a Canadian was even created a baron a few years ago, Canadian society on the whole is even more democratic than that of the United States. The viceregal court of Ottawa is an exotic which is admired by some of the people and laughed at by others, but is not felt by any of them to be really their own. "The genius of the Continent rejected etiquette, as it had rejected Pitt's proffered boon of a hereditary peerage,"¹ said Goldwin Smith. The attempt to introduce a few of the elementary regulations of English society into the state entertainments at Rideau Hall has always been resented. When the Marquis of Lorne

¹ *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 154.

went to Canada as Governor General in 1878 Ottawa had a total population of about thirty thousand men, women and children, of all classes. Of these twelve or thirteen hundred, comprising at least one-tenth of the entire adult population, were considered socially eligible for the viceregal receptions and entitled to invitations. The fashionable society of the capital, all of whose members the Governor General and his wife were expected to entertain, was described by a chronicler of the time as including not only Senators, members of the House of Commons and prominent visitors, but "local judges, doctors, lawyers, civil servants, shopkeepers, butchers, bakers and tradesmen of every quality."¹ On a corresponding scale of inclusiveness there would be, not "Four Hundred," but four hundred thousand aristocrats in New York. The question whether the Canadian social atmosphere was American or British was tested when this hospitable society came into contact with the daughter of Queen Victoria and her husband, the descendant of the Dukes of Argyll. "It unfortunately came to pass," remarks the chronicler just quoted, "that shortly after the arrival of the new governor, certain regulations were published which seemed to verify the forecast that Rideau Hall was to be converted into a court, but their excellencies had the good sense to return to the old fashion after they saw that the innovation had begun to provoke general ridicule."²

The British Government had taken the trouble to draw up an elaborate table of precedence for Canada, beginning with the Governor General and going down by thirty-one gradations, through the Lieutenant Governors of Provinces, the Archbishops and Bishops, the members of the Cabinet and the rest of the official hierarchy to members of the provincial assemblies and retired judges.³ The Parliaments, both Do-

¹ J. E. Collins, *Canada under the Administration of Lord Lorne*, p. 309.

² Collins, p. 325.

³ Burke's *Peerage*, 1901, p. 1875.

minion and provincial, are opened with the state of Westminster. They have their speeches from the Throne, and their humble Addresses in response. They have their Government and Opposition Benches, and the solemn, if empty dignity of the Federal Senate as well as that of the Legislative Council of Quebec, is reinforced by the inspiring presence of a Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. Mayors of Canadian cities are styled "Your Worship." Official reports are still reverently submitted to "His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Albert Henry George, Earl Grey, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey of Howick, in the county of Northumberland, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom and a Baronet; Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, etc., etc., Governor General of Canada," and the Minister thus addressing humble memorials, which are really orders, to a potentate who must do as he is told, signs himself,

"I have the honor to be,

My Lord

Your Excellency's obedient servant."

Nevertheless Canadian dignities and dignitaries find it impossible to get themselves taken seriously.¹

¹ For example, to quote one expression out of many of the same kind:

"Red tape requires that more gold lace should be in evidence in Canada at all State functions. This is a silly business. The less gold lace and the fewer tin swords there are in evidence in this democratic country the better for everybody.

"Cocked hats, feathers and gold lace are out of place in the Dominion. Men who take pride in appearing in their uniforms make themselves ridiculous. One of our lieutenant governors made a laughingstock of himself at the opening of the last session of parliament, and yet he was merely more correct than the rest of the dignitaries present on that occasion.

"It is a subject for congratulation that at the last State dinner only one deputy minister appeared in uniform. No doubt that one most reluctantly donned his gaudy dress, and did it only because he thought it the proper thing to do. The dress of an 'ordinary citizen' should be quite good enough for even a minister.

"This gold lace business and Canadian titles are, as Goldwin Smith said a few years ago, a fit subject for a Canadian Thackeray. A Book of Canadian Snobs would make most entertaining reading." *Ottawa Free Press*, Nov. 24, 1905.

The aristocracy of Canada, as of the United States, is one of wealth, and great fortunes are so much scarcer on the Canadian than on the American side of the line that their influence upon social standards is much less.

When the British fleet under Prince Louis of Battenberg visited Canadian waters in the autumn of 1905 it was received with an enthusiastic homage that seemed to have suffered no impairment from the taint of American irreverence. But after its departure, even courtesy to guests and loyalty to the royal house of Britain could not entirely suppress all ebullitions of democratic impatience. "It would have been ungracious while Battenberg was with us," observed the *Toronto Sun* on Sept. 26, "to say a word that could have been deemed discourteous. But now that he is gone we may remark that this excessive adulation of every sprig of royalty is more suitable to a title-hunting fast set than to the sensible and self-respecting citizen." "Citizen," it may be observed, not "subject."

A correspondent in Massachusetts asked the *Toronto World* whether Canadians relished being called subjects of King Edward instead of British citizens. The *World* replied: "With titles and distinctions Canadians are not much concerned—they probably concern themselves less than do the citizens of the Republic, who are themselves badly afflicted with that weakness. A hereditary nobility is no more likely to be established in the Dominion of Canada than it is in the United States, and lesser honors had as lief come from the head of the state as be self-accorded. But after all, these things are of trivial importance as compared with the right of self-government and of free development. That right Canada enjoys to the full, and yields place not even to the Republic in respect of the democratic character of her government."

The same paper ridiculed the "crassest flummery" of

royalty as exemplified by the "gold stick," "silver stick" and "lords of the bed chamber" of the King, and remarked: "Perhaps the greatest wonder presented in the governmental system of any great nation to-day is the coexistence in Great Britain of a closer approximation of democracy than can be found in either of the principal republics with such mediæval nonsense as appears in the 'King's household-in-waiting.'"¹

Toronto prides herself upon being the very shrine of loyalty to British traditions on an irreverent continent, yet it supports newspapers which treat the most revered fictions of the British Constitution with no more respect than they would command in Kansas City. The *Toronto Sun* intimates that since confederation the Governor General and his provincial lieutenants have hardly ever had anything to do in an official and constitutional way "which might not have been done by a stamp." "The case of the monarchical element of our Constitution," it adds, "is something like that of the vermicular appendix in the human frame. That formation was no doubt of use in some former stage of development, but its usefulness has now entirely ceased. In our present frame it exists only to do mischief. Some, perhaps, looking to the influence of the court of Ottawa on social character and habits, will be censorious enough to maintain that the parallel holds good to the end."²

It is unnecessary to devote more attention to the question whether the Canadian social organization is democratic, because the fact that it is so is so obvious and so universally admitted that extended testimony on that point would be mere surplusage. Canada is as democratic as the United States in its relations to rank, and much more so in its rela-

¹ *Toronto Sunday World*, Sept. 10, 1905.

² *Toronto Sun*, Aug. 16, 1905.

tions to wealth. "Opulence," admits Mr. Goldwin Smith, "even at Toronto, sometimes ventures to put a cockade in the coachman's hat. * * * But aristocracy is a hateful word to the Canadian as well as to the American. It is politically a word wherewith to conjure backwards."¹

¹ *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 28.

CHAPTER V

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

THE early settlements in Canada were isolated from the southern country. The French Canadians made use of their magnificent system of waterways for long and adventurous canoe journeys, but except in hostile raids these seldom brought them near any considerable centers of English population. When the United Empire Loyalists laid the foundations of Upper Canada in the woods they were simply Americans, differing in no respect from those they had left behind in the States from which they had been driven. But their isolation, if it had been maintained, would soon have developed a new national type. For a generation it was the policy of the British Government to preserve this isolation in every possible way. To this end it cultivated the French Canadian nationality in Quebec, it discouraged settlements near the frontier, and it tried to prevent the construction of roads connecting the British Provinces with the American States. This policy was in full vigor in 1816, when Lord Bathurst wrote from Downing Street (July 1) to Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, Governor of Lower Canada:

"You are no doubt aware of the inquiries which have been made in the Province as to the practicability of leaving in a state of nature that part of the frontier which lies between Lake Champlain and Montreal. * * I must confine myself, therefore, to instructing you to abstain altogether from making, hereafter, any grants in these districts, and to use every endeavor to induce those who have received grants

there, and have not yet proceeded to the cultivation of them, to accept uncleared lands in other districts more distant from the frontier of the United States. * * It is also very desirable that you should, as far as lies in your power, prevent the extension of roads in the direction of those particular districts beyond the limits of that division of the Province referred to in the plan of the Surveyor-General as being generally cultivated, and if any means should present themselves of letting those which have been already made, fall into decay, you will best comply with the views of His Majesty's Government, and materially contribute to the future security of the Province by their adoption."¹

But at that very time the progress of invention was making the maintenance of the policy of isolation impossible. The first Canadian steamboat, the *Frontenac*, was built near Kingston in 1815-16, by an American, Henry Teabout, for a company of local capitalists. A smaller American boat, the *Kingston*, had been launched at Sacket Harbor, just before, and at about the same time the *Walk-in-the-Water* was built at Buffalo to ply on Lake Erie.² Steam navigation made the Great Lakes a bond of union instead of a barrier between the two countries. The development of railroads, following soon after, took from the beginning an international character. The first Canadian railway, begun in 1832 and opened in 1836, ran from La Prairie on the St. Lawrence to St. John's on the Richelieu, a distance of nineteen miles. Thus it connected steam navigation on the St. Lawrence with that on Lake Champlain, and turned the historic war trail of two centuries into a highway of commerce.³ For ten years this remained the only railroad in Canada. The second

¹ Letter quoted in *Durham's Report*, pp. 45-46.

² Wm. Canniff, *History of the Early Settlement of Upper Canada*, pp. 600-604.

³ Roberts' *History of Canada*, p. 428. *Report of Department of Railways and Canals*, Ottawa, 1906, p. 14.

line, the Northern Railway of Canada, whose first sod was turned by Lady Elgin, was opened in 1847.¹ On July 31, 1850, a convention was held at Portland, Maine, with delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, meeting delegates from the New England States, to consider means of connecting Halifax with Bangor, Portland and the American railroad system, by a line called the European and North American Railway, passing through St. John, New Brunswick.² This line was eventually completed, but not as the European and North American. Part of it belongs to the Canadian Government's Intercolonial system, part to the Canadian Pacific and part to the Maine Central.³

Comparatively few as the new arteries of communication were, their value was fully appreciated even then. The year after the Portland Convention the people of Boston in a jubilee lasting for three days celebrated the completion of the railroad and steamer lines by which they saw Canada and the United States drawn more closely together. The President of the United States was there, as well as Lord Elgin, the Governor General of the British Province, and most of the notables of America. Edward Everett delivered one of his characteristic orations to 3500 guests at a dinner on Boston Common.⁴

In 1850 there were 66 miles of railway in the provinces now forming the Dominion of Canada. In the next decade the bold outlines of the Canadian railway system were sketched out. Between 1852 and 1857, 1239 miles of new lines were opened, including 229 miles of the Great Western, between the Niagara and Detroit Rivers; 571 miles of the Grand Trunk, in addition to the Montreal and Portland

¹ Withrow, p. 128. *Report of Department of Railways and Canals*, 1906, p. 14.

² Tuttle, *Short History of the Dominion of Canada*, p. 327.

³ *Report of Department of Railways and Canals*, 1906, map.

⁴ *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, pp. 161-162.

branch of 292 miles, crossing the State of Maine; 62 miles of the Montreal and Plattsburg; 44 miles of the Champlain and St. Lawrence, and 114 miles of the Buffalo and Lake Huron.¹ These were all international lines, or at least lines tending to bring the interior of Canada into communication with the frontiers.

In 1860 the railway mileage of the British Provinces had risen to 2,065; in 1870 to 2,617, in 1880 to 7,194, in 1890 to 13,151, in 1900 to 17,656, and in 1905 to 20,487. In the last year railways crossed, or connected at, the frontier between Canada and the United States at forty-two different points.² There is not a single Province or Territory of the Dominion adjacent to the United States which is not directly connected with the neighboring parts of the Republic by rail. Even the frozen territory of the Yukon has rail connection with Alaska.

Thirty years ago every railroad in the United States and Canada ran on its own time. Travelers were required to keep track of over a hundred different standards, varying by as much as five hours. A passenger going from Halifax to Chicago had to set his watch seven times.³

The movement for a unified system of reckoning began simultaneously on both sides of the border. The plan of counting by meridians one hour apart was proposed independently by Professor Cleveland Abbe, of the United States Signal Service, in a report to the American Metrological Society, and by Sandford Fleming, Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, in a paper read before the Cana-

¹ *Canadian Almanac*, 1857, p. 30. *Report of Department of Railways and Canals*, 1906, p. 14.

² *Report of Department of Railways and Canals*, 1906, p. 14 and map.

³ Sandford Fleming, *Time Reckoning and the Selection of a Prime Meridian*, Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto, 1879.

dian Institute.¹ Both of these bodies passed resolutions in 1879 urging uniformity of time throughout the United States and Canada. On June 15, 1881 the American Society of Civil Engineers held its convention at Montreal, the first it had ever held outside of the United States, and Mr. Fleming read a paper urging the adoption of the unified system. He was sent as a delegate representing both the United States and Canada to the International Geographical Congress at Venice in the same year and there read another address on the same subject. Most of the railroads of the Republic and of the Dominion put the hour-meridian system into effect simultaneously on November 18, 1883, thus jointly instituting a reform which has since been followed by the majority of the civilized nations of the world. The time system of the United States and Canada now divides the North American continent into longitudinal belts, taking no account of the international boundary. In each belt the time is one hour slower than in the next one to the east of it, and one hour faster than in the next one to the west. The Canadian Pacific and the American transcontinental lines all run on Mountain time where they cross the one hundred and fifth meridian, and all run on Pacific time when they cross the one hundred and twentieth. The example of the railroads has been followed by the people, so that in the important matter of the time schedules that regulate every act of their daily lives, the two countries have become one.

The unifying influence of the railroads does not stop here. The entire Canadian railroad system is purely American. The engines, the ordinary passenger cars, the sleepers, the dining cars, and the freight cars, are all exactly like those used on American lines and entirely different from those of England

¹ Address by Dr. F. A. P. Barnard, Delegate from the United States, before the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, Cologne, Aug., 1881.

or the Continent of Europe. The standard gauge is used throughout the continent and the rolling stock of American and Canadian roads is mutually interchangeable. So is the personnel. An English engineer, guard, train-dispatcher, or general manager would have to serve an apprenticeship before undertaking the corresponding duties in any part of the North American Continent, but Canadian railroad men can and do take positions on American roads at a day's notice, and vice versa. Mr. James J. Hill, one of the greatest of American railroad magnates, is of Canadian birth, while Sir William Van Horne, Chairman, and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, President, of the Canadian Pacific and Mr. Charles M. Hays, General Manager of the Grand Trunk of Canada and head of the new transcontinental line, the Grand Trunk Pacific, were born in the United States.

Each traffic territory has its railroad "association," and in marking off these territories, both countries are treated as one. Canadian roads are represented in the Buffalo Freight Committee, the Buffalo Railway Passenger Committee, the Buffalo Westbound Passenger Committee, the Central Freight Association, the Central Passenger Association, the Chicago Freight Committee, the Chicago Railroad Association, the General Manager's Association of Chicago, the General Superintendent's Association of Chicago, the Michigan Passenger Association, the New England Passenger Association, the Niagara Frontier Summer Rate Committee, the Northern Mileage Ticket Bureau, the Transcontinental Freight Bureau, the Transcontinental Passenger Association and the Trunk Line Association. In connection with the railroads Canadian and American lake and river steamer lines are associated in the Executive Committee of Passenger Steamboat Lines, the Association of Lake Lines, the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River Rate Committee and the International Water Lines Passenger Association. The various operating officials of

the transportation lines are also organized for mutual improvement in bodies with both Canadian and American membership. Such are the American Association of Dining Car Superintendents, the American Association of General Baggage Agents, the American Association of Local Freight Agents' Associations, the American Association of Traveling Passenger Agents, the American Railway Engineering and Maintenance of Way Association, and the American Railway Master Mechanics' Association. These bodies hold their annual conventions sometimes in American and sometimes in Canadian cities. ¹

The principal railroad systems of Canada and of the northern belt of the United States lap indifferently over each other and over the international boundary. The Canadian Pacific taps American territory at both ends, and an indispensable part of its business is the transportation of American passengers and freight. The Northern Pacific and the Great Northern have pushed their feeders into the domain of the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian Northern, and all four have battled for the trade of Manitoba and the Canadian Northwestern Provinces. The "Soo" Line runs from St. Paul and Minneapolis partly through American and partly through Canadian territory to Montreal in connection with the Canadian Pacific, and there connects with roads to Portland, Boston and New York. The Grand Trunk of Canada finds the best part of its business in the trade between Chicago and Buffalo. The Michigan Central and the Wabash run through trains between New York and the Western cities of the United States, crossing the Niagara River, traversing the Ontario Peninsula, and returning to American territory at Detroit.

The Great Northern, an American system created by a

¹ Official Railway Guide.

Canadian-born American citizen, Mr. James J. Hill, taps the Dominion at several points and is now building a transcontinental line across Canada.¹ The published descriptions of this project foreshadow the most complex system of feeders and of traffic circulation among Canadian and American points that any corporation has ever undertaken. A large majority of the mileage and over three-quarters of the business of all railroads of Canada are included in international systems.

In the settlement of the Canadian Northwest the first outlets to civilization were opened through American territory. The pioneer traders in the Red River region brought in goods from the United States by ox-carts. The Hudson Bay Company took in a consignment overland from St. Paul in 1859, and two years later put a small steamer, the Pioneer, in service on the Red River, plying between Fort Abercrombie, Minnesota, and Fort Garry, now Winnipeg.²

Other steamers followed. The first railroad between Winnipeg and the rest of the world was opened to St. Paul, December 3, 1878.³ This was seven years before Winnipeg was connected by rail with Eastern Canada, which the Canadian Pacific finally accomplished in 1885.⁴ When the Canadian Pacific did come in, it came with a charter of monopoly privileges which forbade not only parallel competing lines but even the construction of any new connections with the American frontier. But these restrictions aroused so much angry resentment and so much dangerous political agitation among the people of Manitoba that they were abolished in 1888.⁵

¹ See a letter from Mr. Hill to the Winnipeg Board of Trade in the *New York Times*, April 8, 1906.

² Alexander Begg, *History of the Northwest*, vol. i, pp. 324-325.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 328.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 107.

⁵ Cockburn, *Political Annals of Canada*, p. 467.

On the Pacific Coast, of course, all the early communications of British Columbia were with the adjacent parts of the United States, and this condition was not altered until the opening of the Canadian Pacific.

Along with the development of the railroad and steam navigation systems which, soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, had knit the previously isolated settlements of Canada into intimate connection with the United States, a third system was evolved—the telegraph. As a telegraph line accompanied every railroad, the entire network of rails was duplicated by a corresponding network of electric wires, and as there were many telegraph lines where there were no railways the meshes of this net were even closer than those of the other. In 1904 there were 37,481 miles of commercial telegraph line in Canada against 19,431 miles of railroad, and in the combined systems of Canada and the United States there were 264,624 miles of telegraph to 230,505 miles of rail.¹ The American telegraph lines, which originally belonged to small local companies, were gradually consolidated until the great bulk of the business was in the hands of a single corporation, the Western Union. A similar development proceeded in Canada. The Western Union now owns practically the entire telegraph system of the Maritime Provinces, which, from this point of view, are parts of the New England States. West of Quebec the business is divided between the Great Northwestern Telegraph Company, which is affiliated with the Western Union, and the Canadian Pacific, an international corporation. In telegraph traffic arrangements the whole continent is treated as a unit, and the international boundary line has no existence.

To these intricately interlaced strands of communication by steam navigation, railroad and telegraph there was soon

¹ *Statistical Year-Book of Canada*, 1904, pp. 449, 640 and 643. Poor's *Manual of Railroads*, 1905, p. v.

added a fourth. In 1877 Alexander Graham Bell established the first commercial telephone line in the world. The system spread with magical rapidity over the North American continent and soon far outstripped the telegraph in its mileage of wire and its volume of business. In 1904 the Bell lines alone had a greater mileage in the United States than all systems combined had in all the rest of the world. In 1904 there were 214,405 miles of telephone wire in Canada, of which 94,314 miles belonged to the Bell system. The Bell lines in the United States had 3,958,891 miles of wire—over three times the wire mileage of the Western Union Telegraph Company. The principal Canadian long-distance telephone lines belong to the Bell Telephone Company of Canada, which is one of the subsidiary companies of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company of the United States. An examination of the official map of this company's system discloses a most astonishing network of lines, extending from the Bay of Fundy to San Diego, from British Columbia to Florida, and from Lake Winnipeg to the Gulf of Mexico. The peculiarity of this system as it affects Canada is that the different sections of the Dominion are all in direct telephonic communication with the United States, but not with each other. New Brunswick can talk directly with Maine, but not with Quebec except through Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. Quebec and Ontario are connected with each other, although not so closely as they are with the adjoining American States, but they are entirely isolated from the Maritime Provinces on one side and from Manitoba on the other. Manitoba is in easy communication with Minnesota and North Dakota, but is separated by a telephonic blank from Ontario and British Columbia. Half a dozen towns in British Columbia can telephone down the Pacific Coast all the way to San Diego, but they have no connection with any other part of Canada. Indeed all the

five long-distance telephone lines of British Columbia itself cross the border into Washington, and not one of them has any connection with any other except through the American telephone system.¹ The growth of the Bell telephone system has been paralleled by that of the independent companies, and in its annual convention at Chicago in June, 1906, the National Interstate Telephone Association changed its name to the International Independent Telephone Association of America in order to cover the Canadian lines.

And now there is a fifth system of communication which promises before long to rival and perhaps to surpass any of the others. The first mile of electric railroad in Canada was laid in connection with the Toronto Exposition in 1885.² From this has developed a system which in 1905 comprised 793 miles of electric road. Up to the present time little of this is actually international. The only line that has crossed the border thus far is the one that makes two crossings on the Lower Niagara River and carries 150,000 passengers a month in the summer months from Canada into the United States. But the systems on both sides of the border are approaching at various points the stage of contact which will weld them into one. A fast electric line has been planned from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Seattle. Two of the greatest long-distance electric railway centres in the United States, Detroit and Buffalo, are on the Canadian border, and there, as at other points, nothing is wanting to complete connections but the actual crossing of the cars over rivers. Electric traction is growing so rapidly that it promises soon to duplicate or surpass the extent of the steam railroads.

¹ See map issued by the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. in 1904, *Statistical Year-Book of Canada, Report of Department of Railways and Canals*, and Poor's *Manual of Railroads*. Some of the facts here represented have been obtained by personal inquiry from the American Telegraph and Telephone Co. and the Western Union Telegraph Co.

² *United States Census Special Report on Electric Railways*, 1902, p. 163.

We are now in a position to see in what direction Canada is drawn by facilities of communication. We have seen five distinct systems superposed along the American border, laced and interlaced in a complexity so intricate that if they could all be shown on one map it would be impossible to disentangle the international boundary line from the maze. To these there should be added a sixth, the ordinary roads, traversed by a constant procession of automobiles, carriages, wagons, bicycles and pedestrians. The connection between Canada and Great Britain is much simpler. It consists of ocean shipping, making single voyages in periods varying from eight days upwards, and cables transmitting messages at a charge for each word, including the address and signature, equal to the cost of an entire message from a Canadian city to any neighboring point in the United States.

Finally, in connection with the various means of communication on the American continent, there are to be added the postal and express services.

In 1875, four years before joining the International Postal Union with its five-cent letter rate, Canada entered into an agreement by which Canadian letters were to go to any part of the United States at the Canadian domestic charge, while American letters were to be transmitted to any part of Canada at the American rate, each country retaining all its own collections.

For twenty years longer Canada continued to be foreign to the rest of the British Empire in postal matters, while attached to the United States. At last, on December 25, 1898, the Imperial letter rate was reduced from five cents to two, the rate on letters from Canada to the United States being reduced from three cents to two a week later.¹ Letters from the United States, being transmitted at the American domestic rate, had been carried for two cents since 1883.

¹ *Report of the Deputy Postmaster-General, Ottawa, 1903, p. 11.*

Canada has constantly been pressing for more liberal postal relations with the rest of the British Empire, but until very recently she has always had to encounter obstruction from the mother country. While she has been sending newspapers to Great Britain and many British Colonies at her own domestic rates, Great Britain has not reciprocated until the present year. American publishers have been able to send newspapers and magazines to Canada at a cent a pound, while British publishers have had to pay eight cents. This advantage to American periodical literature has now been abolished, however, for in November, 1906, the Canadian Government gave notice of the abrogation of the convention that had secured second-class privileges to American publishers, while on April 15, 1907, it was announced that on May 1 the rate on British publications would be reduced to two cents.

The Canadian postal statistics do not analyze the general postal business to show what proportion that carried on with the United States bears to that carried on with Great Britain. But some light is thrown upon the subject by the returns of money-order transactions. For the first eight years after Confederation, Canada exchanged money orders with Great Britain and Newfoundland, but not with any other countries. In 1868 the orders issued in Canada and payable in Great Britain amounted to \$389,796, and those issued in Great Britain and payable in Canada to \$87,437. In the same year orders were issued in Canada, payable in Newfoundland to the amount of \$3,321, and in Newfoundland, payable in Canada, to the amount of \$3,142. In 1876 the Canadian money-order system was extended to the United States. In that year, of the orders issued in Canada \$491,363 were payable in Great Britain, \$212,135 in the United States, and \$5,305 in Newfoundland, and of those payable in Canada \$194,680 were issued in Great Britain, \$156,134

in the United States and \$8,499 in Newfoundland. The next year, 1877, the United States passed Great Britain in the volume of orders payable in Canada, the year following (1878) in total amount of money order business with the Dominion, and in 1880 in the amount of orders received from Canada. In each case the lead has been maintained ever since. In 1884 Canada began to enter into money-order relations with other countries. In that year Canadian orders to the amount of \$862,822 were payable in Great Britain, \$1,190,852 in the United States, \$5,291 in Newfoundland and \$36,946 in the rest of the world, and orders payable in Canada were issued to the value of \$257,738 in Great Britain, \$959,691 in the United States, \$29,150 in Newfoundland and \$16,285 in other countries. For the five years beginning with 1900 the proportions were:

	United Kingdom.		United States.		Newfoundland.		Other Countries.	
	Issued in	Payable in	Issued in	Payable in	Issued in	Payable in	Issued in	Payable in
	Canada.	Canada.	Canada.	Canada.	Canada.	Canada.	Canada.	Canada.
1900....	\$928,665	\$505,757	\$1,680,617	\$1,804,830	\$53,646	\$50,512	\$397,609	\$109,456
1901....	1,023,039	519,497	2,118,295	1,909,168	78,509	53,503	412,116	110,666
1902....	1,172,580	552,231	3,173,310	2,866,183	91,364	51,242	689,103	106,137
1903....	1,497,414	636,034	3,682,312	3,783,945	129,802	61,098	797,596	123,451
1904....	2,209,742	761,482	4,422,010	4,167,641	119,706	75,231	1,194,993	92,767 ¹

Between the period 1876-77 and 1904 the share of Canada's total external money-order business transacted with Great Britain declined from 59.2 to 22.7 per cent., and that with the United States increased from 38.5 to 65.9 per cent. About twice as much of this business is transacted with the United States as with all the rest of the world, including Great Britain, combined, and it may, perhaps, be fair to infer that other varieties of postal traffic are distributed in similar proportions.

The express business in Canada is carried on chiefly by Canadian companies affiliated with the American express

¹ *Statistical Year-Book of Canada*, 1904, pp. 548-549.

companies, but in some cases by the American companies themselves. The Northern Pacific, Great Northern and American Express Companies, for instance, all operate directly in Canada. In all cases intimate traffic arrangements enable goods to be easily and promptly transported between Canadian and American points.

Against these various currents of communication it is hard for the most determined sentiment to make head. Toronto likes to be considered typically English, and tries in every way to strengthen the British connection and sharpen the line of cleavage between Canada and the United States. But when a Toronto merchant can run over to Buffalo in three hours by train or six hours by boat or automobile, can order a bill of goods by telephone in the morning and receive them by express the same evening, and can sit in his office and call up New York or send a night telegram for thirty cents which it would cost him three dollars and a half to cable to London, while it would take him three weeks to go to England and back, or to send a letter and receive an answer, even a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. tariff preference fails to make his relations with England more intimate than with America.

The development of the railroad, telegraph and telephone systems has given a new importance to great cities as agents of assimilation. Before these systems grew up, each bit of country had its local centre, and the people had little communication with any other.¹ That St. Thomas was half way between Buffalo and Detroit was then a matter of small

¹ "The Province (Upper Canada) has no great centre with which all the separate parts are connected, and which they are accustomed to follow in sentiment and action; nor is there that habitual intercourse between the inhabitants of different parts of the country, which by diffusing through all a knowledge of the opinions and interests of each makes a people one and united in spite of extent of territory and dispersion of population. Instead of this, there are many local centres, the sentiments and the interests (or at least what are fancied to be so) of which are distinct, and perhaps opposed." *Lord Durham's Report*, p. 104.

importance to its inhabitants. They seldom went to either place or had anything to do with either's affairs. But with the advent of the first railroad the whole situation was changed. Trains between Buffalo and Detroit passed through every day; the newspapers of either Detroit or Buffalo could be read at the breakfast table, and a resident of St. Thomas could go to either place in the morning and be home the same evening. The telegraph came along with the railroad, enabling the country storekeeper to send an order to the city and have it filled the same day. Then followed the long-distance telephone and the interurban trolley car—new tentacles that helped the city to draw to itself the life of all the surrounding country. These influences have worked powerfully to bring Canada, which has few large cities of its own, into close relations with the cities of the United States.

The bulk of the population of the Province of Ontario, comprising one-third of the entire population of the Dominion, is contained in the Ontario Peninsula, between the States of New York and Michigan. The people of this region are directly accessible to three metropolitan centres, Buffalo, Toronto and Detroit, and two other large cities, Cleveland and Toledo, are close at hand across Lake Erie. The peninsula forms a wedge thrust down into the heart of the United States. It is connected with the rest of Canada only by a narrow isthmus, but it is in the direct sweep of the tides of American travel. The shortest railroad lines between Buffalo and Detroit pass through it. Hundreds of thousands of Americans traverse it every year. Of the three cities that compete for its trade, the one belonging to Canada is the smallest. Through the greater part of this region the newspapers, either of Buffalo or of Detroit, can be read on the morning of publication. It is to these cities that the people go when they wish an evening at the theatre, or to do any shopping of more than ordinary importance. Bright young

No

men and women, ambitious of wider careers than they can find in their native towns, go to Buffalo or Detroit to seek their fortunes, when they do not go farther, to New York or Chicago. In short, Buffalo and Detroit exert upon that portion of the Ontario Peninsula that lies between them the magnetic attraction which a metropolis always exercises upon its tributary country. To a lesser extent, a similar attraction is exerted by Duluth upon Western Ontario, by St. Paul and Minneapolis upon Manitoba, and by Spokane, Seattle and Tacoma upon British Columbia. In spite of distance, New York and Chicago are powerful magnets for the older parts of Canada, and Boston is the most powerful of all. There is no city in Canada which does not have to meet the competition of a more important American city within drawing distance of its own constituency. Halifax, St. John, Quebec and Montreal are all within the circles of attraction of Boston and New York; Toronto must compete with Buffalo and Detroit; Winnipeg is within the sphere of influence of St. Paul and Minneapolis; and Vancouver and Victoria have rivals in Seattle and Tacoma. The tariff does something to counteract the more powerful attraction of the larger places, but it cannot do everything. It can not interfere with pleasure and education; it cannot compel people to take local newspapers in preference to metropolitan journals, nor can it stop the migration of ambitious youth to the points of greatest opportunity. A metropolis diffuses a potent influence on all sides. It draws in currents of life from all directions and sends them back transformed. As London has unified England, as Paris has unified France, as Berlin is unifying Germany, so the great American border cities are unifying the regions over which their attraction extends.

CHAPTER VI

THE LAND

THERE is no more fundamental characteristic of a nation than its system of land tenure. No other factor more profoundly influences the national character. French Canada was originally organized on a feudal basis.¹ Persons of influence received from the King large grants of land which they held by faith and homage, and they sublet their estates in farms to tenants on various conditions of service and payment. The beginnings of such a system were observable in the Maritime Provinces, as in several of the colonies that afterward became American States. The whole of Prince Edward Island was given away in one day in 1767 to proprietors living in England,² and the colony struggled for more than a century against the consequences of what Lord Durham called "that fatal error which stifled its prosperity in the very cradle of its existence."³ One-seventh of the lands of Upper Canada were set apart in 1791 for the support of a Protestant clergy, and immense endowments in Lower Canada were settled upon the Catholic priesthood. When the United Empire Loyalists occupied Upper Canada, they received land grants in the proportions of 200 acres each for privates, 2,000 for subalterns, 3,000 for captains, and 5,000 for field officers. Townships were laid out of from

¹ Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, p. 304 *et seq.*

² Bourinot, *Local Government in Canada*, p. 167.

³ *Lord Durham's Report*, pp. 140-141.

40,000 to 80,000 acres each.¹ Jobbery was rampant in this distribution, and huge tracts fell into the hands of speculators and official rings. In Lower Canada the British Governors made fifty-five grants of over ten thousand acres each in the seven years between 1796 and 1803. Many of these exceeded twenty-five thousand acres and one reached 62,621.²

But the last remnants of feudalism in Quebec were extinguished under Lord Elgin in 1854; the "clergy reserve" system in Upper Canada disappeared about the same time, and the rights of the proprietors of Prince Edward Island were bought out between 1873 and 1876. There was no tendency anywhere toward the development of the modern English system of landlord and tenant. Everywhere the drift was in the direction of American methods. In 1839 Lord Durham had described the land system of the United States as appearing "to combine all the chief requisites of the greatest efficiency." "In the North American Colonies," he added, "there never has been any system."³ But varied as the land titles have been in their origin, they have worked out in all the eastern part of the continent, Canadian and American alike, into one common system—that of the ownership of the farms by the farmers, and outside of the cities, the general ownership of homes by their occupants. Of course this system is not universal—it has important exceptions, such as negro tenant farming in the South, but it gives the characteristic tone to the whole region on both sides of the boundary.⁴

¹ Bourinot, *Local Government in Canada*, p. 56. Cf. Canniff's *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, p. 62, and Ryerson's *Loyalists in America*, ii, p. 187.

² *Vandenvelden and Charland*, Introductory Table.

³ *Lord Durham's Report*, pp. 148-149.

⁴ "In this fundamental respect of yeoman proprietorship, without a landed gentry, the structure of society in British Canada is identical with its structure in the United States." Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 27.

In the West, both Canada and the United States were confronted by exactly the same conditions. Each country found itself in possession of an enormous extent of vacant land, to be disposed of at its pleasure. The American lands were settled first, and therefore it fell to the United States to devise the first plan for disposing of them. It divided the country into townships each six miles square. Each township was subdivided into thirty-six sections of one square mile, or 640 acres, apiece. Homestead settlers were allowed to take up a quarter section, or 160 acres, each, without charge. When the country was still unprovided with means of communication corporations were tempted to build railroads through it by the offer of grants of land, consisting of the alternate sections for a certain number of miles on each side of the lines. This whole system, townships, sections, quarter-sections, free homesteads, railroad land subsidies and all, has been transplanted bodily to Canada. The settler from North Dakota who crosses the line into Saskatchewan takes up a new farm in precisely the same way in which he took up the one he is leaving behind.

By the Dominion Land Act of 1872 (35 Victoria, cap. 23) the Northwestern lands were divided into sections, townships, and ranges, counted from bases and meridians, as in the United States, and sub-divided into half-sections, quarter, half-quarter and quarter-quarter sections. Two sections in every township in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories were set apart for an educational endowment. Provision was also made for military bounties. The unappropriated land was to be open to purchase at a dollar an acre, but no more than 640 acres were to be sold to one person. Free homesteads of 160 acres each were given to heads of families of either sex or to any males over eighteen years old after three years' residence. Præemption claims to an equal amount could be taken up adjoining the homestead at a

dollar per acre. The Act of May 26, 1874 (37 Victoria, cap. 14) granted twenty-five million acres to the Canadian Pacific Railway in alternate sections—the chief of a long list of subsidies to railroad corporations. Two years later the Act 39 Victoria, cap. 19 authorized the system of timber-culture entries that has opened the door to such extensive frauds in the United States.

Even in their mistakes, Canada and the United States have moved on parallel lines. Each had a colossal public domain—a heritage that could have been made under prudent management to support the entire government and in time to provide benefits now undreamed-of for the people. This domain could have been made to solve all the problems of poverty and furnish the first modern example of a government whose operations were written on the credit instead of on the debit side of the popular ledger. But the United States chose to throw its opportunity away, and Canada is following its example as fast as the progress of settlement will permit.

This policy is arousing discontent in Canada as well as in the United States. The free lands in the Northwest within reach of transportation facilities are substantially exhausted, "Why should any government give away lands for nothing?" asks Mr. R. J. Shrimpton.¹

"The time is approaching," said the *St. John Star*, on August 26, 1905, "when the sons of the farmers who have borne the cost of Western development will go west and buy back, if they can, at a high price, portions of these lands from the descendants of emigrants who got the estates for nothing. The time is coming and even now is, when the nation with more land than people will be better off than the nation with more people than land."

¹ *The Monthly Review*, London, Aug., 1905.

The lands of the Northwest not already occupied by settlers are owned principally by the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern and other railroad corporations, the Hudson Bay Company, and various land companies and private speculators. To obtain free farms in a region inhabited by less than one person to the square mile, it is now necessary, in most cases, to go at least twenty miles from a railroad. Thus the conditions whose existence in the United States has led to the migration of American farmers to Canada are reproducing themselves in the new land.

CHAPTER VII

TRADE RELATIONS

BEFORE the adoption of free trade by Great Britain in 1846 the commercial relations of Canada had been governed by the principles of the old Colonial system. Canadian products had a preference in the British markets, and British goods enjoyed similar favors in the markets of Canada. The year 1846 was memorable for the abolition of the Corn Laws in England, and for the enactment of the Walker Tariff in the United States—a measure which for the next fourteen years was generally regarded as the beginning of a rapid approach toward American free trade. Thus the dykes that had tended to confine Canadian commerce in British channels were thrown down, and at the same time the obstacles that had obstructed its approach to the American markets were removed.

In preparation for this change the Imperial Government in 1845 authorized the Canadian Legislature to regulate its own tariff. As soon as its special privileges in the British market were gone, Canada promptly turned to the United States. In 1846 the Canadian Legislature urged the government of Great Britain to negotiate for the admission of Canadian goods to the American markets on equal terms. The proposed reciprocity was confined to natural products, but this limitation, the Canadians explained, was inspired solely by a desire to meet American wishes. Canada herself would be glad to have the mutual concessions made complete.¹

¹“It has been suggested that the same principle should be extended to the

In 1847 the Legislature of Canada equalized the duties on American and British manufactures, reducing the former from twelve and one-half to seven and one-half per cent, and raising the latter from five to seven and one-half.¹

These advances met with an encouraging reception. In 1848 Joseph Grinnell introduced a bill in Congress abolishing duties on Canadian raw products on condition that similar concessions should be made by Canada. The Canadian Legislature immediately passed a law with corresponding provisions.² The Board of Trade of Montreal, in a memorial to the Queen on December 18, 1848, expressed the opinion that the recent changes in the commercial relations of Canada had led to "a growing commercial intercourse with the United States, giving rise to an opinion, which is daily gaining ground on both sides of the boundary line, that the interests of the two countries, under the changed policy of the Imperial government, are germane to each other, and under that system must sooner or later be politically interwoven."³

These aspirations on both sides for closer commercial relations reached their fulfillment in 1854 in the Reciprocity

manufactures of the United States and Canada. To this Canada could have no objection; on the contrary, we feel persuaded it would be to our advantage, but it was considered unwise even to propose it, because American manufacturers would feel apprehensive that British fabrics might be introduced by this means through Canada into the United States at duties considerably lower than those imposed by the present American tariff. This was the only reason for not proposing that extension; if decided, it can be obtained at any future time." Memorandum of Hon. W. N. Merritt, submitted to the U. S. Government through British Minister Crampton on behalf of the Governor-General of Canada. *House Ex. Docs., 1st Sess., 31st Cong., vol. viii, no. 64, pp. 6-8.*

¹ Letter from the British Minister at Washington, Mr. Crampton, to Secretary Clayton, March 22, 1849. *House Ex. Docs., 1st Sess., 31st Cong., vol. viii, no. 64, pp. 3-4.*

² *House Ex. Docs., 1st Sess., 31st Cong., vol. viii, no. 64, pp. 12-14.*

³ Speech of John A. Dix in Senate, Jan. 23, 1849. *House Ex. Docs., 1st Sess., 31st Cong., vol. viii, no. 64, p. 28.*

Treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin and William L. Marcy—an arrangement which Elgin himself frankly admitted to be probably indispensable to the retention of Canada in the British Empire.¹ This treaty opened to Americans all sea-fishing rights, except that of gathering shellfish, in Canada and the Maritime Provinces, and gave reciprocal rights to British fishermen on the coasts of the United States north of 36 degrees, north latitude. Grain, animals, meats, fish, poultry, eggs, hides, dairy products, ores, coal, lumber and other raw products were to be admitted free on both sides. Reciprocal rights of navigation were granted on the St. Lawrence, the canals and Lake Michigan. Newfoundland was to be admitted to the privileges of this treaty, as far as practicable, at her option.²

Acts to carry the Reciprocity Treaty into effect were passed in the United States August 5, 1854, in Canada September 23, 1854, in Prince Edward Island October 7, 1854, in New Brunswick November 3, 1854, in Nova Scotia December 13, 1854, and in Newfoundland July 7, 1855.³ The treaty was proclaimed in force March 16, 1855, and its effects were immediate and decisive. Down to and including 1854, the trade of Canada with Great Britain exceeded that with the United States. Next year the proportions were reversed and the United States took a lead which it retained until the Civil War. From 1850, until the end of the reciprocity period, the trade of Canada proper with the two countries which together absorbed almost the whole of its commerce is summarized in these tables:

¹ *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, pp. 102-103.

² *Treaties and Conventions*, pp. 449-452.

³ Haynes, *Reciprocity Treaty*, pp. 18-19.

TRADE RELATIONS

81

IMPORTS TO CANADA.

	From Great Britain.	From the United States.	
1850.....	\$9,631,921	\$6,372,494	
1851.....	12,037,993	7,935,972	
1852.....	10,671,133	8,477,693	
1853.....	18,489,121	11,782,147	
1854.....	22,963,330	15,553,098	
1855.....	13,303,560	20,828,677	} Under Reciprocity.
1856.....	18,212,914	22,704,509	
1857.....	17,559,025	20,224,651	
1858.....	12,286,853	15,655,550	
1859.....	14,767,872	17,592,265	
1860.....	15,839,320	17,258,585	
1861.....	17,945,570	20,206,080	
1862.....	21,089,915	22,642,860	
1863.....	20,176,964	18,457,683	
1864.....	11,878,907 ¹	7,952,401 ¹	
1864-5.....	21,035,871	14,820,577	

EXPORTS FROM CANADA.

	To Great Britain.	To the United States.	
1850.....	\$4,803,379	\$5,933,243	
1851.....	6,021,411	4,917,429	
1852.....	6,756,857	7,536,155	
1853.....	11,465,408	10,725,455	
1854.....	10,876,714	10,418,883	
1855.....	6,738,441	20,002,291	} Under Reciprocity.
1856.....	10,467,644	20,218,654	
1857.....	11,102,045	14,762,641	
1858.....	8,898,611	13,373,138	
1859.....	7,973,106	13,586,917	
1860.....	12,749,891	20,698,348	
1861.....	18,787,592	16,158,374	
1862.....	15,045,420	16,980,810	
1863.....	17,401,856	20,910,533	
1864.....	4,700,244	8,022,963 ¹	
1864-5.....	14,637,153	24,213,582 ²	

The effect of the Reciprocity Treaty was to make Canada

¹ Six months.

² *Year-Book of British North America*, 1867, p. 76.

a willing commercial dependency of the United States. The Canadians learned to look southward for their best market. "Under the beneficent influence of that convention," says a recent Canadian writer, "the line between the two countries at their point of contact on this continent became as nearly as possible obliterated. Without damage to the loyalty or individuality of either, the two nations began, in Mr. Jay's words, to be again as one people. Commerce was unrestrained. Social and political sympathy increased. Hence when, a generation ago, a division between the people of the United States among themselves broke out into civil war, the sentiments of the majority of English-speaking Canadians were found to be in many respects like those of a Northern State. . . . What must have been the real sympathies of the vast majority of people which, out of a population of about three millions, sent forty thousand recruits to the Northern armies? It is not probable that the quota of native volunteers would have been much larger had the Provinces already been States of the Union."¹

But the Reciprocity Treaty was not universally popular in the United States. From the time when Lord Elgin first "floated it through on a sea of champagne" it was subjected to bitter criticism. The fact that during the Civil War the balance of trade turned "against" the Union gave a new argument to those who were accustomed to think of exports as the only profitable part of commerce. Resentment growing out of the course of the British Government in the war, and the use of the Canadian territory as a base for Confederate raids dealt the final stroke, and the United States gave notice of the abrogation of the treaty. It was a blunder matching the expulsion of the Loyalists and the consequent creation of British Canada after the Revolution. Its first

¹ O. A. Howland, *The New Empire*, pp. 254-256.

effect was to dismay the Canadians, who had learned to consider the American market essential to their existence; its second was to set them to work to build up new markets elsewhere, and incidentally to give a powerful impetus to the union of the disjointed colonies in a new nation, the Dominion of Canada. Nevertheless the actual effects of the new policy upon trade were not as disastrous as might have been feared. The treaty terminated on March 17, 1866. In 1865, the last full year before the abrogation of the treaty, the domestic exports from Canada and the Maritime Provinces to the United States had amounted to \$27,286,874. In 1867, the first year after the abrogation, the same Provinces sold goods to the Union to the value of \$25,395,835. The exports from the United States to the British Provinces were \$22,600,174 in 1865, and \$17,401,529 in 1867.¹ The next year, the first under the Dominion, the American exports to Canada made up their losses, and by 1873 the volume of Canadian trade with the United States, each way, exceeded the figures of 1865. Propinquity and ease of communication did their work in spite of the hampering efforts of statesmen. It was the Canadian imports from the United States that grew with peculiar vigor. In 1868 Canada bought goods to the value of \$37,617,325 from Great Britain and only \$22,660,132 worth from the Union. In 1873 the imports from Great Britain amounted to \$67,996,945—a figure never reached since, in spite of the stimulation of a double dose of preferential tariffs. In 1876, for the first time since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the imports from the United States (\$43,099,880) exceeded those from Great Britain (40,479,253). From that time to this, except in the three years 1880–82 inclusive, American sales to Canada have steadily

¹ *Special Report on Trade between Canada and the United States*, Ottawa, 1898, pp. 252–255.

exceeded the British. Of late years the discrepancy has grown enormous. It was \$128,790,238 to \$58,793,038 in 1903, \$143,010,578 to \$61,724,616 in 1904, and \$152,431,626 to \$60,342,704 in 1905. The growth of Canadian exports to the United States, while large, has been much less than that of imports. The exports of Canadian domestic merchandise in 1868 were \$22,387,846 to the United States and \$17,905,808 to Great Britain, and the sales to the Republic continued to exceed those to the United Kingdom every year until 1874. In that year the exports to Great Britain were \$35,769,190 and those to the United States \$30,380,556.

From that time until the present British purchases from Canada have exceeded those of the United States in every year except 1888 and 1889. The difference grew steadily year after year until in 1903 Canada sold \$125,199,980 worth of domestic products to Great Britain, and only \$67,766,367 worth to the United States. In the past two years it has declined, the proportions being \$110,120,892 to \$66,836,885 in 1904 and \$97,114,867 to \$70,426,765 in 1905.¹

In the commerce between Canada and the United States the "balance of trade"—that grewsome bogey of the protectionist politician—has been against Canada every year without a break since 1871, until in 1905 it reached the terrifying figure of \$82,005,061. Both parties in the Dominion have striven helplessly against the incorrigible determination of the Canadian people to buy American goods without waiting for a corresponding American demand for Canadian goods. For many years the struggle took the form of an attempt to revive the system of reciprocity.

On March 10, 1873, seven years after the abrogation of the reciprocal agreement with the United States, Sir Charles

¹ *Report Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, 1905*, pp. 14-19.

Tupper, Minister of Customs, said in response to a Board of Trade memorial:

"Both Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Canada have availed themselves of every suitable opportunity, since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, to press upon the Government of the United States the desirability of a renewal of reciprocal trade relations between the latter country and Canada upon a broad and liberal basis."¹

In 1874 Canada attempted to employ her rights to compensation for the use of her fisheries under the Treaty of Washington as a lever to press the American Government into concluding a new reciprocity treaty. Such a treaty was negotiated, but was not ratified by the Senate.²

The failure of these overtures began to turn the minds of Canadians toward the idea of commercial independence. In 1876 Sir John Macdonald, then the leader of the Conservative Opposition to the Mackenzie Government, moved a resolution calling for a readjustment of the tariff which would "afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries as well as the agricultural products of the country." He offered a similar resolution the next year, following it with a popular agitation outside of Parliament, and on March 7, 1878, he formally launched his "National Policy" by moving an amendment in supply:

"That this house is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home, will restore prosperity to our struggling in-

¹ *Sessional Papers*, 1873, no. 40.

² *Ibid.*, 1875, no. 51.

dustries, now so sadly depressed, will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market, will encourage and develop an active inter-provincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbors, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country, eventually, a reciprocity of trade."¹

In the debate on this occasion Macdonald protested against the policy of "conciliation and humiliation" by which the Canadian Government had been trying to induce the Americans to grant reciprocity. "They will not have anything like reciprocity of trade with us," he said, "unless we show them that it will be to their advantage. . . . It is only by closing our doors and by cutting them out of our markets that they will open theirs to us."²

The next year the Conservatives came into power, under Macdonald's leadership, and the National Policy was put into effect. Consistently with the declaration of its author, that one of its chief objects was to secure reciprocity with the United States, the act contained a provision that the Canadian duties on American natural products should be abolished whenever the United States took similar action with regard to Canadian goods.³ But the Finance Minister remarked that "the government intended to impose duties on a great many articles imported from these (the United States) which had been left on the free list since 1875 in the vain hope of inducing our neighbors to renew the Reciprocity Treaty."⁴

Under the Macdonald Tariff the average rate of duties increased from 16.334 per cent in 1879 to 20.214 per cent in

¹ *Commons Debates, Can., 5th Sess., 3rd Parl.*, vol. i, p. 854.

² *Commons Debates, Canada, 5th Sess., 3rd Parl.*, vol. i, p. 862.

³ 32 Vict., c. 4, sec. 10.

⁴ McLean, *Tariff History of Canada*, p. 24.

1880, and that on dutiable goods alone from 23.335 to 26.078 per cent. For the moment American trade was hit harder than British, the imports from the United States falling off from \$42,170,306 to \$28,193,783, while those from Great Britain actually increased from \$30,967,778 to \$33,764,439. Yet the increase in duties on the goods imported from Great Britain was apparently larger than that on goods from the United States. The great difference lay in the fact that fully half the American products previously free of duty were transferred to the dutiable list, while the comparatively small proportion of British goods on the free list not only suffered no reduction but was even enlarged.¹

The Canadian tariff was revised in 1894, and some slight reductions were effected. The changes were avowedly influenced by the Wilson law passed the same year in the United States. A limited reciprocity was again offered.² Even as late as that the feeling that the American markets were essential to Canada's welfare was strong, especially in the Liberal party. Sir Richard Cartwright expressed it in the debate on the Tariff Act of 1894 in the words:

"I do not pretend to say that the people of this country are not able to maintain themselves in reasonable comfort without access to those markets provided they had an honest and economical government, but I do say that no considerable prosperity ever will be obtained under existing circumstances for the people of Canada until they have access to the markets of the United States. That fact is written by the finger of God in every mile of the frontier between that country and Canada."³

Sir John Thompson, for the Government, said that Canada had approached the Washington authorities with an offer of

¹ *Report of Department of Trade and Commerce*, 1905, pp. 14-15.

² *Commons Debates*, 4th Sess., 7th Parl., 1894, p. 1506.

³ *Ibid.*

more liberal trade relations, which had not been cordially received.¹

In 1896 the Liberals under Mr., now Sir Wilfrid, Laurier, came into power as a low-tariff party, friendly to freer trade relations with the United States. Their overtures were rebuffed, however, by the short-sighted politicians at Washington, and they turned toward Great Britain. They made practically no reduction in the Macdonald general tariff, but in 1897 they granted a preferential rate of 25 per cent on certain products from such countries as might concede reciprocal favors. This was meant to be, and in fact was, confined to the British Empire and almost exclusively to the United Kingdom. In 1900 this preference was increased to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Thus the Liberals succeeded in flanking their protectionist opponents by securing a certain amount of tariff reduction under the guise of a patriotic service to the Empire. But the exceptional favors granted to Great Britain did not avail to check the steady increase in purchases from the United States. In the fiscal year 1898, just before the first preference went into effect, the Canadian imports of American goods amounted to \$74,824,923. The next year, after eleven months of discrimination in favor of Great Britain, the United States sold goods to Canada to the extent of \$88,467,173. The following year the figures rose to \$102,080,177. At the end of that year (1901) the increased British preference went into force. In 1901 the Canadian imports from the United States increased to \$107,149,325, in 1902 to \$114,744,696, in 1903 to \$128,790,237, in 1904 to \$143,010,578, and in 1905 to \$152,431,626. Meanwhile under the stimulus of the first preference the Canadian imports from Great Britain rose from \$32,043,461 in 1898 to \$36,931,233 in 1899 and \$44,279,983 in 1900.

¹ *Commons Debates, 4th Sess., 7th Parl., 1894, p. 1517.*

In 1901, the first year under the increased preference, the imports of British goods declined to \$42,022,726. In 1902 they took a fresh start, rising to \$49,022,726. In 1903 they went up to \$58,793,038, and in 1904 to \$61,724,616, but in 1905 they fell off again to \$60,342,704. The Canadian imports from Great Britain in 1905, under a tariff preference of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, were less by over seven millions and a-half than they had been in 1873 without any preference at all. In the same time the Canadian imports from the United States had more than tripled. In 1898, just before the tariff favors began, Great Britain had furnished 25.36 per cent of all Canada's imports and the United States 59.24 per cent. The next year, notwithstanding the preference, the share of Great Britain declined to 24.72 per cent, while that of the United States remained unchanged. In 1901, the first year of the increased preference, the British proportion went down to 24.10 and that of the United States rose to 60.30 per cent. In 1905, after seven years of preferential favors, two years at 25 and five at $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, Great Britain was furnishing 23.98 and the United States 60.58 per cent of the total imports of Canada.¹

Coincidentally with the huge increase in imports from the United States has come an increasing dependence upon American trade for the money to support the Canadian government. Down to 1896 Canada had collected more revenue in duties on British than on American goods. The yield of the duties on British products had been, on the whole, declining for some years, and continued to decline until the duties were reduced by the first preference of 1898. The reduction in the rates was followed by an increase in revenue, and the second reduction, although seeming to bring a temporary decline, was followed after a year by

¹ *Canadian Report on Trade and Commerce*, 1905, pp. 14-17.

another increase in receipts which has kept on upon a moderate scale ever since. But the increase in the amount of duties collected on American goods was so much more rapid that while the charges on imports from Great Britain brought in \$11,171,010 to the Dominion Treasury in 1905, the imports from the United States contributed \$20,580,302. This was half of the entire customs revenue of the country and nearly 29 per cent of all the money raised by the Canadian Government from all sources.¹

¹ *Report of Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, 1905*, pp. 14 and 15. *Statistical Year-Book of Canada, 1905*.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIETIES

AN influence that has had a marked assimilating effect has been that of the social, fraternal, trade, labor, professional, scientific, philanthropic and religious organizations whose jurisdiction extends over both sides of the international boundary. These associations have had an astonishing growth in the past half century. They have multiplied with the improvements in communication which alone have made it possible for members everywhere to keep in touch with each other, and meet in an endless succession of continental conventions. Their influence begins in early life. The schools of North America, both secular and religious, are conducted by teachers who exchange ideas in international conventions. The National Educational Association, the most extensive organization of its kind in the world, was originally a purely American institution, as its name still indicates. But soon delegates from Canada began to attend its gigantic annual conventions, and they are now regular participants in its deliberations.

The Sunday-schools of the continent have undergone a similar development. The first convention of the International Sunday-school Association was held in 1895. The eleventh, representing over a hundred and fifty thousand evangelical Sunday-schools, fifteen hundred thousand teachers and twelve million pupils in the United States and Canada, met at Toronto ten years later. The scope of the International Sunday-school Association is not confined to the

American continent—it takes in the entire world—but the United States and Canada contain a majority of all the schools, teachers and pupils affiliated with it, and the bulk of the international intercourse it promotes is between their representatives.

The American college fraternity is a growth peculiar to this continent. Nothing more strongly differentiates the academic life of the Western world from that of Europe, and especially of England. This distinctively American institution has at last struck vigorous roots in the Canadian universities. The pioneer chapter was established by the Zeta Psi fraternity at the University of Toronto in 1879, and in 1883 the same organization planted another chapter at McGill.¹

Four years later the first Canadian chapter of an American woman's Greek-letter society was founded at the University of Toronto by Kappa Alpha Theta, but it lived only a year. In 1892, a Toronto chapter of Kappa Alpha was launched by an enthusiastic assemblage at Ithaca, and from that time until the present, hardly a year has passed without the creation of a chapter of some American fraternity in a Canadian college. In 1905, the University of Toronto had nine such chapters, McGill the same number, the Law School of Upper Canada two, and four other Canadian institutions one each.

Delta Chi, an American legal fraternity that originated at Cornell in 1890, held its convention in Canada for the first time in 1905, meeting at Toronto and electing Postmaster-General (now Secretary of the Treasury) Cortelyou Honorary President.²

In several of the great general orders the Canadian and American branches have gradually converged to the point of

¹ W. R. Baird, *Manual of American College Fraternities*, 1905, pp. 288-290.

² Baird, *American College Fraternities*, 1906, pp. 374-376. *Toronto Mail and Empire*, June 26, 1905.

coalescence. The Supreme Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows has jurisdiction over the grand lodges of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and British Columbia, as well as over those of the various States of the Union. The Sons of Temperance treat all North America as one National Division and Great Britain and Ireland as another. The Knights of Pythias have lodges in American States and Canadian Provinces under a single general jurisdiction.

The fraternal insurance orders which have nearly seven million members and do more than a third of the life insurance business of the continent are represented in the National Fraternal Congress, which has met annually for twenty years to consider questions of policy and legislation affecting their interests. Canada is represented in this body, which held its sessions for 1906 in Montreal.

Perhaps the most powerful of all international associations in their assimilating effects are those devoted to labor. The process of expansion by which in the fifties local American unions rapidly grew to State and National stature went on in the next decade to include Canada. In 1869 the National Typographical Union, then seventeen years old and the first national union in the United States, changed its name to the "International Typographical Union," in order to take in the Canadian printers.¹ In 1881 the "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada" was formed by a Congress held at Pittsburg. This body was so purely continental in spirit that it seemed to act on the assumption that the workers of the United States and Canada were already citizens of one country. It adopted a resolution declaring: "It behooves the representatives of the workers of North America in Congress assembled, to

¹ Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America*, pp. 57-58. Testimony of Sam'l B. Donnelly, President Int. Typographical Union, before the Industrial Commission, May 9, 1899. *Report Industrial Commission*, vol. vii, p. 268.

adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are entitled." ¹ In 1886 the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor developed into the American Federation of Labor.² This body, with nearly two million members, had in March, 1906, seventy affiliated international unions with jurisdiction over Canada.³

¹ Declaration of principles of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, adopted at the first annual session at Pittsburg, Nov. 15, 1881. Official Report.

² Testimony of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, before the Industrial Commission, April 18, 1889. *Report of the Industrial Commission*, vol. vii, p. 596.

³ Official list of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, March 15, 1906. The organizations extending over Canada were kindly designated for the writer by Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the Federation. They comprised the following unions:

- Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.
- Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.
- Bill Posters and Billers of America. National Alliance.
- International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.
- Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America.
- International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.
- Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
- International Union of United Brewery Workmen.
- International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.
- International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.
- International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.
- United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
- Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
- International Carriage and Wagon Workers.
- International Wood Carvers' Association of North America.
- Cigarmakers' International Union of America.
- Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.
- United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.
- Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.
- Coopers' International Union of North America.
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.
- International Union of Elevator Constructors.

In addition six Canadian city Centrals and ten Canadian

- International Union of Steam Engineers.
- International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.
- United Garment Workers of America.
- Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.
- Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association.
- International Glove Workers' Union of America.
- International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America.
- International Union of Journeymen Horse Shoers of United States and Canada.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.
- International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.
- International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers.
- Shirt, Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.
- United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods.
- Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.
- International Longshoremen's Association.
- International Association of Machinists.
- International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.
- International Association of Marble Workers.
- Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union of North America.
- Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.
- United Mine Workers of America.
- Iron Molders' Union of North America.
- American Federation of Musicians.
- Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.
- United Brotherhood of Paper Makers of America.
- Pattern-Makers' League of North America.
- International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.
- International Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America.
- International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America.
- United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.
- National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.
- International Printing Pressmen's Union.
- Order of Railroad Telegraphers.
- Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.
- International Seamen's Union of America.
- National Union of Shipwrights' Joiners and Caulkers of America.
- Theatrical Stage Employee's International Alliance.
- International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America.

local unions were connected with the Federation. One of the continental organizations, the Barbers' International Union, uses the American flag as a part of its emblem. Any barber shop in Canada which fails to display this symbol is marked as a "scab" establishment. Most Canadian barbers seem to bear this obligation philosophically, but the sight of the foreign emblem sometimes arouses bitter protests among their customers.

In 1897 the "Allied Building Trades Council of America" was formed by the representatives of the bricklayers, carpenters, painters, plasterers, stone-masons, plumbers, steam and hot-water fitters, fresco painters, paper-hangers, tin and copper workers, galvanized iron workers, stone-cutters, structural iron workers, hoisting engineers and hod carriers. All these were organized on an international basis and in the border cities of the United States Canadian union cards were regularly presented by men who would work there for a time and then go back to Canada.¹

The International Typographical Union held its convention for 1905 in Toronto. The problems discussed there were common to the workers on both sides of the line. One of them was the question of serving in the militia. Both in

- Stove Mounters' International Union.
- Journeyman Tailors' Union of America.
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
- United Textile Workers of America.
- International Ceramic, Mosaic and Eucaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' Union.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union.
- Travellers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America.
- International Typographical Union.
- Upholsterers' International Union of North America.
- Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America.

¹Testimony of Milford Spohn of the Legislative Committee of the National Building Trades Council before the Industrial Commission, April 17, 1899. *Report Ind. Com.*, vol. vii, pp. 138-146.

the United States and in Canada it had been held by agitators that the citizen soldiery was under the control of capital, and hence that organized labor should boycott it, but for the seventh time the convention rejected a resolution to that effect. This body was welcomed to Toronto by the Premier of Ontario, and in opening its sessions the chairman of the local Committee of Arrangements remarked that "the International Typographical Union knew no boundaries, and that so far as their aims and objects were concerned, no line existed between Canada and the United States."¹ The International Union of Steam Engineers met at Toronto in the following month, and exhibited an equal solidarity of interests. One of the resolutions adopted by its convention demanded the exclusion of Chinese, Japanese and Koreans from the United States and Canada.² In November, 1906, an American labor leader took charge of a street railroad strike at Hamilton, Ontario, under the general direction of the President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America at Chicago, and so far Americanized the proceedings that a Canadian town was treated to the unwonted spectacle of troops fighting riotous mobs in its streets.³ The strike leader was ordered out of the country, but refused to go, standing on his rights as an American citizen, and the International President went to Hamilton to take charge of the situation in person.

Of late some of the Canadian unions have grown restive under the control of American majorities, and have manifested a disposition to secede from the international organizations and manage their own affairs. This bit of reaction is part of the workings of the growing spirit of nationality

¹ *Toronto Globe*, Aug. 15, 1905.

² *Ottawa Free Press*, Sept. 16, 1905.

³ See Canadian papers in November, 1906, *passim*.

which is striving passionately to make Canada a self-sufficing entity, free from dependence either upon the old sovereign power across the sea, or the gigantic neighbor next door.

CHAPTER IX

LITERARY INFLUENCES

NO less important than the influences of social admixture, of trade and of travel in forming the character of a people is that of the things the people read. This reading matter consists of newspapers, magazines and books. From the infancy of the nation Canada has had an able and vigorous newspaper press. It has been intensely Canadian in sentiment, but in everything else it has been American.¹

The Canadian journals are American in their whole tone, their makeup, their typography, their estimate of the value of news and their manner of presenting it. They patronize American press associations and "syndicates," and much of their matter in consequence is furnished by American writers from an American standpoint. This is a cause of incessant complaint on the part of the Canadian press itself, but the stream of news from American sources continues to flow unchecked.

"The ports of entry between Canada and the United States," complains the *Toronto Mail and Empire* (May 13, 1905), "are so many sluices through which Americanizing reading matter is pouring every day. The minds of our people are being saturated with social and political teaching that is bad for the country." The *Ottawa Free Press* (Sept. 20,

¹ As Mr. Goldwin Smith observed fifteen years ago, "The Canadian press is, in the main, American, not English, in its character. It aims at the lightness, smartness and crispness of New York journalism rather than at the solidity of the *London Times*. There is an interchange of writers with New York." Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 51.

1905), criticizes Canadians for preferring American to British journals. "A great deal," it remarks, "is said and written in Canada about British connection, the Imperial spirit and loyalty to the mother-land, but on our newsstands and through our streets the American papers with their colored supplements are exposed for sale, and find ready customers. They have already moulded our language, are shaping the character of the young, and giving us our national ideals." *La Presse*, of Montreal, calls the process a "conquête pacifique."¹

In 1903, the Canadian Press Association was organized, with a Dominion subsidy, to secure cable news from England free from American coloring. But the results of the experiment have been somewhat disappointing even in that restricted field, while at home the American agencies are still in full possession of the ground.

The Toronto *Globe* (April 25, 1905), describing the growth of the Canadian Northwest and the improvement of the Western newspapers, laments "first, the scarcity of Eastern Canadian news in those papers, and secondly, the quite remarkable prominence given to United States news." It appears that even in towns of considerable size it was hard for Western Canadians to learn how the Ontario elections of 1905 had been decided, while the result of an election in Maine or Vermont would have been announced soon after the close of the polls.²

¹"Les Américains viennent mettre nos forêts en couple réglée. De ce bois ils font de la pulpe qu'ils nous retournent un peu plus tard sous forme de journaux, revues et magazines, que nous payons en bon argent. Des milliers de tonnes de matières imprimées arrivent ainsi chaque jour dans le pays, pénètrent dans toutes les villes, les campagnes, répandant partout la pensée, les idées et le sentiment Américain. Sans nous en apercevoir, nous devenons Américains, et un groupe de douaniers et quelques criminels sont aujourd'hui les seuls à savoir qu'il y a quelque part une ligne de division entre le Canada et la République Américaine." *La Presse*, Sept. 5, 1906.

² *Ibid.*

The *Victoria Colonist* (Aug. 18, 1905) explains that "the daily newspaper in British Columbia is absolutely in the hands of the Associated Press." Hence the "frequent complaints that news of events of considerable importance occurring in Great Britain, on the Continent, or in Eastern Canada is entirely omitted in the press dispatches, while some trifling thing that took place in Philadelphia or Texas, without interest or value to English or Canadian readers, is given prominence." The *Colonist* sees no way out of the difficulty, because the Associated Press is too great to be easily supplanted or diverted from its course.

Canadian newspapers, with very few exceptions, employ the American instead of the English forms of spelling. They omit the "u" from words like "favor," "honor," "labor" and "armor." Some of them even go the full length of "spelling reform" and say "thru," "altho," "program" and "cigaret." They did this before President Roosevelt tried to set the fashion. A Canadian paper speaks of "a hereditary nobility," where an English one would say "an."¹

President Roosevelt's incursion into the orthographical field in the summer of 1906 was abundantly criticised in the Canadian press, but it received rather more sympathy there than in the press of the United States, and infinitely more than in that of Great Britain. Canadian book publishers, it may be observed, are rather more conservative in the matter of spelling than the publishers of newspapers. The superfluous "u" in such words as "honor," almost unknown in the daily press, is often in evidence in bound volumes issued in Canada. But the same thing may be said of books issued by American publishers with international connections.

The prominence given by Canadian newspapers to American news is not altogether due, as they often complain, to

¹ *Toronto World*, Aug. 12, 1905.

their dependence upon American sources of information. It is largely a case of supply accommodating itself to demand. The newspapers print what experience has taught them their patrons wish to read. American election returns take precedence of every other species of news, home, British or foreign, in the Canadian press. Even the choice of a Mayor of New York in 1905 was considered sufficiently important by some Canadian papers to spread across the entire width of their first pages. *La Presse*, of Montreal, not only gave this space on the morning of the election, before there were any returns to print, but it published portraits of all the candidates for Mayor and District Attorney, and a complete facsimile of the official ballot, with its eight columns and its seven emblems. The progress of the American electoral campaigns is followed editorially by the Canadian press with a care and knowledge in striking contrast with the vague impressions that serve for opinions in such English publications as think the matter worthy of any attention at all.

La Presse of Montreal regularly devotes several columns a day to "Canada in the United States." Letters from Fall River, Manchester, Lowell and other American centres of French Canadian settlement keep the race in its own home in touch with its offshoot in New England. The *Winnipeg Tribune* puts the abridged news of the world under four headings: first, "Canada;" second, "United States;" third, "Great Britain," and fourth, "The World Outside." In a typical issue (Jan. 3, 1906) there were ten items under the first heading, twelve under the second, two under the third and three under the fourth. Other Canadian papers adopt similar classifications. Some journalists have carried on a crusade against what the *Toronto Mail and Empire* calls "the tide of Americanizing literature which sweeps over this country every day,"¹ but with no visible effect except to in-

¹ April 29, 1905.

duce the Dominion Postoffice Department to restrict the second-class privileges of American publications in the mails.

The National Association of Managers of Newspaper Circulation held its annual convention in 1905 at Toronto, with representatives of the American and Canadian press in attendance. The delegates from Toronto, Detroit, Montreal, Toledo, Denver and Pittsburg were able to discuss the same business problems as if no boundary line existed.¹

The flippancy of the American headliner and the partiality of American newspaper writers in general for colloquialism, irreverence and slang are continental in their scope, and sharply distinguish both American and Canadian journalism from that of England.

It would be hard to imagine an English newspaper heading an account of the impending junction of the Russian fleets under Admirals Rojestvensky and Nebogatoff with the line "Roje. and Neb. Communicate," as the *Standard* of St. Catharines, Ontario, did on May 10, 1905, following it later with another dispatch headed "Has Roje. Gone Down?" Yet that was so typical of Canadian journalism that there would be no trouble in matching it with hundreds of similar lines.²

¹ Toronto *Mail and Empire*, June 7, 1905.

² As an illustration of current tendencies, consider this editorial from the leading journal of the Dominion capital, *The Ottawa Citizen*, of March 15, 1906. "The Toronto *Telegram* is desperately worried over the costumes, masculine and feminine, at the vice-regal drawing room. List to its tale of woe:

"The Ottawa imitation of a real court is to be staged with greater elaboration, it is to be more gorgeously costumed under the Greys than under the Mintos. But the Ottawa court is only an imitation and a subject of indifference to the real people of Canada, of amusement to the wise people of England."

"What have the 'real people of Canada' got to do with it anyhow? The costumes don't cost them a cent; the indignant ratepayer has no squeal coming; the horny-handed son of toil has not to pry himself loose from a plunk and we have not heard that anybody asked the *Telegram* to subscribe for any purple or laundried linen. Neither the real nor fictitious people of Canada are coerced into

The Americanization of the Canadian newspaper press has been stimulated of late years by the practice adopted by the great American journals of "syndicating" their matter, especially their Sunday supplements. These supplements are reproduced in the Canadian papers, usually on Saturdays, as the native Sunday paper has not taken deep root in the Dominion. The youths and maidens of Canada are brought up on the adventures of Buster Brown, Foxy Grandpa and the Katzenjammer Kids. They learn how many American heiresses have bought European titles, and what divorces are likely to occur in the course of the season at Newport. There are also colored supplements of Canadian manufacture which imitate those of the American yellow journals as closely as possible. Besides, the American papers themselves have a large circulation in Canada, especially on Sundays, when the supply of native literature of the kind is short. This process is facilitated by the fact that every important city in Canada except Halifax is within a hundred miles of the international boundary.

In the magazine field the process of Americanization has been even more direct than in that of journalism. The great bulk of the periodical literature read in Canada is written and printed in the United States. There are a few Canadian magazines, and English magazines are read to some extent, but all these occupy an insignificant place in comparison with the flood of American periodicals that flows in yearly increasing volume across the border. A single American weekly has a circulation of sixty thousand in

attending the drawing room if they don't want to, and taken altogether, there is about as much sense in the *Telegram's* talk as there would be in denouncing folk who go to a fancy dress ball. So long as those attending the drawing room pay their tailors' and milliners' bills, whose funeral is it? And it might be mentioned incidentally that the vice-regal drawing room is a mighty fine show and well worth the price of admission."

Canada, which is more than the combined circulations of all the Canadian magazines of general standing. At the news-stands in Canadian hotels American publications fill the great bulk of the space. These facts are admitted on all hands, with emotions varying according to the disposition of the commentator.¹

Canadian newspapers complain that for lack of a market at home Canadian magazine writers, of whom there are many of talent, are compelled to send their wares across the line, and that the writer often follows the story. "The leak is from the top."

The state of journalism and of periodical literature in Canada being as we have found it, there remains the question of books.

It happens that in this matter there is an opportunity for a fairly exact statistical test. For some years the *Bookman*

¹ *E. g.*, "To abrogate the postal convention would be to exclude from Canada every magazine, newspaper and periodical published in the United States. What then should we read? Where are our Canadian magazines? Where are our great weekly papers? Where, in Canada, have we anything that can fill the place of the American publications that we now buy? Such publications in Canada simply do not exist. We have no national monthly magazine. We have no weekly papers that are more than local or class publications." *Winnipeg Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1906.

"The British postmaster-general—or his permanent heads of departments who are often more powerful than he—probably does not realize the extent to which Canadians obtain their lighter reading matter from the United States. The American magazine is a marvelous production. It sells here on its comparative merits." *Toronto World*, Dec. 29, 1905.

"Of Americanizing literature this country is getting altogether too much. Every day carload lots of it in the form of newspapers and magazines are dumped on our market. This foreign reading matter, as was pointed out yesterday, is transported over our railway lines, assorted in our postoffices, forwarded in local mail bags and delivered at city homes by letter-carriers, all at the expense of the Canadian post-office department, which receives nothing whatever for the service. If our postal system were in the hands of a propaganda for establishing in Canada the ideas, standards and habits of the United States people, it could not be turned to more account for that purpose than it can to-day." *Toronto Mail and Empire*, April 26, 1905.

of New York has been publishing every month lists of the six best-selling books in each of a number of American cities, including two Canadian, Toronto and Montreal, as well as a summarized list for the whole country.

In view of the great number and population of the American cities averaged in it, this general list is substantially that for the United States, although the two Canadian places contribute their share to its makeup.

If, therefore, we take one of the Canadian cities, say Toronto, as that is the most typically Canadian place it is possible to conceive, and compare its list with that for the whole country we shall be able to form a fair idea of the extent to which the favorite books of Canadians correspond with those most widely read in the United States. And if by the side of these we can put a list of the books most widely read in England at the same time we can judge whether the literary taste of Canada leans more toward the British or the American side. Unfortunately this last comparison cannot be made with strict accuracy. The London *Bookman* publishes lists of the best-selling books in England, but not exactly on the system adopted by its New York namesake. Formerly it gave the names of twenty or thirty best-selling books in a lump instead of taking six, carefully graded in their exact order, as its American mate does. Of late it has taken to classifying books under various heads, which of course makes an exact parallel impossible. During the period of the South African war works on that subject had a primacy in the English lists which vitiated any comparisons. But for a space of twenty-seven months, from September, 1900, to December, 1902, inclusive (one month being lacking), a fairly trustworthy parallel may be drawn by taking the first six books on each monthly English list and comparing them with the most popular six in Toronto and in the United States at large, respectively.

A recapitulation of these lists, counting one for every time a book appears, gives the following results:

	British Books.	American Books.	Canadian Books.	Foreign Books.
Toronto.....	47	101	17	—
United States.....	32	123	11	2
England	140	19	—	1

Or reduced to percentages:

	British Books.	American Books.	Canadian Books.	Foreign Books.
Toronto.....	28.5	61.2	10.3	—
United States	19.0	73.2	6.5	1.2
England	87.5	11.9	—	0.6

It appears, therefore, that in the period considered nearly two-thirds of the favorite books in Toronto and more than two-thirds of the favorites in the United States were American, while American books formed less than an eighth of the favorites in England. Canadian books formed 10.3 per cent of the best-selling lists in Toronto and 6.5 per cent of the similar lists in the United States, while in the corresponding lists in England they did not appear at all. Repeatedly the month's roll in Toronto was composed entirely of American works, but never in a single instance entirely of British works, while the list in England was often composed exclusively of British but never solely of American books.

One significant circumstance was the fact that Mr. George Ade's *Fables in Slang*, which proved totally unintelligible in England, and were solemnly gnawed at by Mr. Andrew Lang and other British experts as if they had been undeciphered Etruscan inscriptions, appeared three times in the Toronto lists and were later followed there by the same author's *More Fables*, although Mr. Ade's peculiarly

American humor did not gain a footing at the same periods even in the general lists of the United States. Toronto's liking for Ade was not surprising, for in their slang—that most delicate test of a people's mental unity—Canadians and Americans are on an identical footing. The same slang phrases, drawn from the same occupations, modes of life, sports, musical comedy and vaudeville turns, pervade the whole North American continent. British slang is utterly different, and as alien to Canada as Canadian-American slang is to Great Britain.

CHAPTER X

MISCELLANEOUS FACTORS

IN the first half of the nineteenth century the monetary conditions in Canada were chaotic. The prevailing system was based on the so-called "Halifax currency" of pounds, shillings and pence, but with a pound equivalent to \$4 and called a "pound currency" in distinction from a pound sterling. The smaller denominations had proportionate values—twenty cents for a "shilling currency" and ten cents for the "six pence currency." But computations in Western Canada were frequently made in dollars and in York shillings, and in early writings various standards were often used indiscriminately on the same page. Thus Smith in 1851 observes that in Sophiasburg "when the township was first settled, land was sold at a shilling an acre. In 1817 it was valued at from \$3 to \$5 per acre. At the present time, improved farms would sell at from 6 to 9 pounds per acre."¹

In August, 1852, the speech from the throne at the opening of the Parliament of the United Provinces of Upper and lower Canada proposed the official adoption of a decimal currency.² The measure was not adopted immediately, but the great expansion in the commercial relations between Canada and the United States that followed the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 soon cleared the way for it.

The decimal system was definitely introduced by the Act of the Provincial Parliament, 20 Vict.. cap. 18, taking effect

¹ W. H. Smith, *Canada, Past, Present and Future*, p 263.

² Cockburn, *Political Annals of Canada*, p. 340.

Dec. 31st, 1857, which provided that all accounts to be rendered to the government or any public office or department should be rendered in dollars and cents. The pound still remained legal tender, but the dollar rapidly supplanted it in popular use. A law directing the conversion of all postage rates into decimals, and the collection of postage in the new currency went into effect July 1, 1859.¹ When the various provinces came together in the Dominion the monetary confusion prevailing in them was described by Earl Carnarvon in the House of Lords in these terms (Feb. 19, 1867):

"In Canada the pound or the dollar are legal tender. In Nova Scotia the Peruvian, Mexican, Columbian dollars are all legal; in New Brunswick British and American coins are recognized by law, though I believe that the shilling is taken at twenty-four cents, which is less than its value; in Newfoundland Peruvian, Mexican, Columbian, old Spanish, are all equally legal, whilst in Prince Edward's Island the complexity of currencies and of their relative value is even greater."²

Confederation gave a common currency to the whole northern part of the continent, identical in its standard and denominations with that prevailing in the United States. The entire continent north of Mexico, therefore, has been as one in this important respect since the resumption of specie payments in the United States in 1879. An American firm prints the Dominion Government's notes. The only thing lacking to absolute monetary unity is a provision legalizing the circulation of the money of each in the territory of the other. Even without this authority such circulation is general near the border. Canadian coins are freely accepted all along the American side of the line, although not in more distant places, and American visitors can spend their money

¹ *Report of Postmaster-General, Province of Canada, 1859.*

² *Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. 185, pp. 574-575.*

almost anywhere in Canada. The effect of a common monetary system in promoting common habits of thought is obvious. Americans and Canadians discuss the same business questions in the same terms. The bank clearings of Montreal are reported in the same tables with those of New York, and subject to direct comparisons. When a Canadian wishes to study English financial statistics he has to translate them from unfamiliar terms, but in studying American statistics he is at home.

The American magazines, with that flood of advertisements of American goods of which Canadian manufacturers complain, are aided by the fact that their prices are quoted in the currency used by their readers in their daily business, and orders are not complicated by any annoying questions of exchange. Their way has been further smoothed by the adoption of the American system of weights in place of the British.

INVESTMENTS OF CAPITAL

While the sharp outlines of the boundary have been dimmed by the currents of population that wash continually across them, they have been attacked at the same time by corresponding currents of capital. The Canadian railroad system is largely the creation of American money.

American investors have built up the coal industry of Nova Scotia and the great steel works of Sydney. American speculators created the huge Clergue enterprises at Sault Ste. Marie. American promoters, having exhausted their opportunities on the New York side of Niagara Falls, have obtained franchises to deplete the Canadian side. American miners have accomplished the greater part of the development of the Klondike. Many of the street railway lines, lighting plants and water works of Canadian cities have been built by American capital. On the other hand, in 1905 there were 92,472 Canadian policy-holders in American life-insur-

ance companies, carrying insurance to the amount of \$180,631,886. In 1904, the American companies wrote \$36,145,211 of new business in Canada and collected premiums from Canadian policy-holders to the extent of \$6,536,710. In thirty years these policy-holders have paid \$85,592,495 to American companies.

The natural tendency of a corporation whose operations extend on both sides of the line is to treat its entire field as a single territory. It shifts men from one part of its system to another to suit its own convenience regardless of national boundaries. The American railroads operating lines in Canada have hosts of employees, domiciled now in one country and now in the other.

Every international corporation is interested in making the boundary that bisects its business as inconspicuous as possible. It is reported from time to time that the United States Steel Corporation is acquiring mills in Canada. If it should obtain the same supremacy in the iron and steel industry there that it has in that of the United States, the principal influence behind the steel schedules of the Canadian and American tariffs would disappear. It would be an advantage to the company to supply its customers in Manitoba from its Minnesota mills, and its customers in Maine from its mills in Cape Breton. If the combination that controls the coal mines of Pennsylvania should also secure those of Nova Scotia, it would find it convenient to send Pennsylvania coal to New York and Nova Scotia coal to Boston. For years hardly a day has passed in which the Canadian newspapers have not chronicled some new incursion of American capital. On the other hand, American stocks are heavily dealt in on the Canadian exchanges, the New York quotations are telegraphed to Canadian papers, and thus a counter-stream of investment is maintained, all helping to create common financial interests on both sides of the boundary.

SPORTS

In social life the convergence of the Republic and the Dominion is very marked. It is no trivial matter that baseball is becoming the national game of Canada instead of cricket. It has a very deep significance, as has the fact that the native game of lacrosse is not able to hold its own against the southern intruder. "It has not one player in Canada," regretfully observes the *Toronto Mail and Empire*, "where baseball has a score. Thousands of Toronto people will quit work of an afternoon to applaud two contending gangs of salaried aliens at Diamond Park, while as many hundreds would not be induced to attend a lacrosse match."

All over the continent baseball circles, each of several hundred miles in diameter, may be drawn, within which the various cities play for the local championships. These circles lap over each other without any regard to national lines. Toronto, Jersey City, Montreal, Baltimore, Providence, Newark, Buffalo and Rochester, play for the championship of their circuit just as if they were all in a single State.¹ When the Eastern League season for 1905 opened in Toronto the Ontario Legislature cut short its session for the game and the Prime Minister pitched the first ball.²

At the opening of the same season of the Western Ontario League at St. Thomas the Mayor issued a proclamation, which was generally obeyed, directing the city to observe the day, after three in the afternoon, as a holiday. At the appointed time a procession was formed, led by a military band, with the contending ball teams on foot, followed by the Aldermen and prominent citizens in automobiles and carriages. At the grounds a Judge delivered an eloquent address, the Mayor put on a catcher's uniform, the

¹ See *Spalding's Official Baseball Guide* for lists of such leagues.

² *Toronto Mail and Empire*, May 6, 1905.

County Clerk went to the bat, an Alderman took the umpire's place and the Judge pitched a ball. Then the championship pennant was hoisted and the regular teams took the field.¹

The Canadian newspapers print fuller telegraphic accounts of the great baseball contests of the National, the American and the Eastern Leagues than they do of the proceedings of the British Parliament. The American baseball language, which would be entirely unintelligible to an English reader, is fully acclimated in the Canadian press. Take for instance this typical bit from a four-column illustrated dispatch in the *Montreal Star* of October 14, 1905, describing one of the games of the world's championship series between New York and Philadelphia: "Hartsel reposed on first with nobody out in the eighth. Lord fled to Donlin in the outlying districts. Nothing could escape Devlin, and Davis was a goner when he fouled high to that industrious person. Lave Cross was more assertive. He whanged a hummer straight to centre, and Hartsel hit the trail for third base. Donlin fumbled, but Hartsel would have reached third anyway, as his feet are shod with wings." If one can imagine the reception a story of this sort would meet from a London editor, and then reflect that it is repeated at length in every important newspaper of Canada every day throughout the baseball season one might begin to form an opinion on the question whether in this particular field of activity, Canadian tastes run more to English or American models. "In sport," observes the *Victoria Times*, pensively, "the continent is rapidly becoming 'Americanized.' It would appear to be useless to attempt to stem the tide, even if it were desirable to attempt such a thing."²

¹ St. Thomas *Times*, June 1, 1905.

² May 13, 1905.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

The English rule prohibiting marriage with a deceased wife's sister formerly prevailed in Canada. A bill granting the same liberty that prevails in the United States passed the Dominion Commons in 1880 but was defeated in the Senate. It was passed again two years later and became a law. In the matter of divorce no two countries could appear, at first sight, to be more widely divergent than the United States and Canada. In all the States of the Union but one, divorces are granted by the courts, and in most States for many varying causes. In the principal Canadian Provinces the courts have no such power, and people who want divorces must get them by special Act of Parliament if at all. The result is that divorces in Canada are counted by units while in the United States they are counted by thousands. Thus the great Province of Ontario granted only fifty-eight divorces in the thirty-seven years from 1868 to 1904 inclusive, never more than five in any one year, and in eleven of those years it granted none at all.¹

But the contrast between the two countries in this respect is not quite as extreme as it appears on the surface. The easy-going American divorce courts have to bear some of the sins of their neighbors, as well as of their own constituents. It is as easy to go to Sioux Falls from Toronto as from New York. Nor do Canadians who find their own laws too irksome always find it necessary to go so far. Many ill-mated couples in Ontario have found Niagara Falls or Buffalo near enough. This state of affairs attracted the attention of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the Eighth District of New York in the Spring of 1905, and in May of that year Justice Daniel J. Kenefick refused to grant a divorce to a Toronto man who had acquired a legal residence

¹ *Statistical Year-Book of Canada, 1904.*

in Niagara Falls a year before and was still doing business in Toronto. When questioned afterward he said:

"For some time past I have been watching closely divorce cases in which the principals were married in Canada and formerly resided there. From this observation I have reached the conclusion that a noticeable percentage of the divorce cases tried before this department are brought by Canadians, who establish a residence here mainly that they may sue for divorce."¹

Similar opinions were expressed at the meeting of the General Synod of the Church of England four months later, and the Synod was led to take action looking toward the prohibition of the remarriage of divorced persons by the Anglican clergy.²

CONCLUSION

The assimilative processes heretofore described might be traced into an infinity of detail. The educational system of Canada was largely copied from American models in the early part of the nineteenth century, and indeed transplanted in considerable part by immigrant American teachers, who brought Webster's Spelling Book with them and gave Canada that bent toward American spelling which still persists.³

The Royal Military College at Kingston, created in 1874, was copied from West Point.⁴

The custom of the American pioneers of helping each other in their plowing, seeding, harvesting, building barns and hauling logs, by means of social "bees," was equally prevalent in Canada.⁵ The American idea of preserving

¹ St. Catharines *Standard*, May 15, 1905.

² St. John *Globe*, Sept. 13, 1905.

³ See Bourinot, *Canada During the Victorian Era*, in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1897, sec. ii, p. 13, and Canniff, pp. 333-349.

⁴ Leggo, *Administration of the Earl of Dufferin*, p. 207.

⁵ Collins, *Canada Under Lorne*, p. 396.

notable natural beauties in national parks was consciously copied by the Canadian Government.¹

On a viceregal progress in the West the Marquis of Lorne was struck by the resemblance among all the new cities of the continent, and summarized them in an interesting bit of condensed description.² At the same time he noticed the stern-wheel Mississippi and Missouri steamers on the Saskatchewan.

The preceding Governor-General, the Earl of Dufferin, had observed with some concern the continental scope of certain undesirable conditions among the children and youth of North America—how lacking they were in respect for their elders,³ and how the undignified American practice of publicly calling young ladies by their pet names had spread not only through general society, but into the prize lists, the rollcalls, and even the newspapers, of Canada.⁴

The American rule of the road, by which vehicles keep to the right and railroad trains and street cars run on the right-hand tracks, prevails in Canada, instead of the English rule of keeping to the left. The street cars, too, are run on the

¹ See speech of the Marquis of Lorne at Victoria, B. C., in 1882, Collins, p. 481.

² "There are the same very wide streets, showing how prodigal the community may be of land. There are the same rough buildings of boards, with the front run up in a square shape, hiding the gable behind, which would be a much prettier thing to show, but it is hidden because the square boarded front gives more room for some largely written name or advertisement. There are the same pretentious and sometimes very handsome 'blocks,' where a wealthy firm or an enterprising speculator has put his capital into bricks, stone and lime. There are the same variety of hotels, some great, some small, but all furnished with the largest bar-room and entrance hall they can afford to have. There are the same wooden 'sidewalk' along both sides of the street, the same car tramway in the roadway, the same flight of light springy gigs or buggies, with their tall thin-spoked wheels, making it necessary to climb over the spider work before the passenger can be seated in the vehicle." Lorne's *Canadian Life and Scenery*, p. 134.

³ Speech to the teachers of McGill Normal School, Jan. 22, 1873.

⁴ Speech at the Laval Normal School, Quebec, June 27, 1876. Leggo, *History of the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin*, p. 441.

American plan of flat rates instead of the English system of fares graded according to distance.

The legal profession of Canada has been assimilated to that of the United States by the abolition of the English distinction between barristers and solicitors.

At least three American holidays have been adopted in Canada—Arbor Day, Labor Day and Thanksgiving Day—and Decoration Day has been transplanted in a measure. Labor Day is celebrated on the same date in Canada as in the United States, and an agitation in favor of adopting the American date for Thanksgiving would probably have been successful but for the fact that it is too late in the season to suit Canadian climatic conditions. Arbor Day could not be synchronized, since there is no uniformity in that respect among the various States of the American Union. The Fourth of July is a holiday that could not, in the nature of things, be transferred officially to Canada, but for many years it has been celebrated unofficially in the Canadian Northwest with almost as much enthusiasm as in the United States. The Americans near the border reciprocate by joining in the Canadian celebration of Dominion Day.¹

¹ To take two examples, twenty-one years apart: "'Dominion Day' . . . is kept in Canada on July 1st, in the same way as the Americans celebrate Independence Day (July 4th). A great deal of good feeling is shown between Americans and British Columbians in these days of rejoicing. Many of the former come over to British Columbia to celebrate Dominion Day; and the compliment is returned by the British Columbians crossing to the other side of the Sound, *i. e.*, into the States, to keep Independence Day. It is a true friendly feeling, mutual and sincere, and one which I hope may continue." . . . "To-day (July 4th) is Independence Day in the States and is celebrated almost as much here (Victoria, B. C.) as over the boundary." W. Henry Barnaby, *Life and Labour in the Far, Far West*, 1884, pp. 136 and 150.

"On Fourth of July night the cities and towns of Western Canada are aglow with celebrations, and the flash of skyrockets and the twinkling of balloons may be seen as far as the eye can reach over the settled prairies." J. Oliver Curwood, in *World's Work*, Sept., 1905.

The conclusion to which all the converging lines of evidence unmistakably point is that the Americans and the English-speaking Canadians have been welded into one people. The French Canadians are of course different from both, but even in their case the international boundary is not a dividing line. There are nearly two-thirds as many persons of pure French Canadian stock in the United States as in all Canada, and the density of the French Canadian population of Massachusetts is over ten times as great as that of Quebec. The boundary of French Canada runs down the Ottawa and southward to Long Island Sound, not easterly and westerly along the forty-fifth parallel and the St. Lawrence. But French Canada is merely a little island in the midst of a sea of English-speaking people, of diverse origins indeed, but unified by a common language, common institutions and common habits of life. The English-speaking Canadians protest that they will never become Americans—they are already Americans without knowing it.

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He was for a short time managing editor of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, and is now department editor of *Collier's Weekly*. In 1892-94 he wrote "The Tariff, What it is and What it Does," "Chapters on Silver" and "Suggestions on Government." He has been a contributor to the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Review of Reviews* and the *New Liberal Review* of London, the *American Review of Reviews*, the *Political Science Quarterly*, the *Annals of the American Academy*, the *Forum*, *McClure's*, the *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey's*, *Collier's*, *Harper's Weekly*, the *Independent*, the *Delta Kappa Epsilon Quarterly*, and various other American periodicals. In 1899 he wrote an authorized biographical sketch of Mark Twain, which is included in the definitive edition of the latter's works. In the same year, while still engaged in editorial work, he took up studies at Columbia, receiving the degree

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